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Foreign Policy Commission Reviews Visit to Greece

LD1804213995 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1830 GMT 18 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Foreign Policy Commission in the Albanian parliament discussed about the recent visit of the delegation of this commission to Greece. As it is made known, the delegation had meetings with the speaker of the Greek parliament, Apostolos Kaklamanis, and members of the homologue commission in the Greek parliament, with the Greek foreign minister, Karolos Papoulias, and representatives of the political parties in Greece.

The interlocutors considered as very positive the good understanding spirit and the willingness to further develop the relations between our two parliaments and the respective commissions. The Foreign Policy Commission discussed about the problem of the Albanian migrants and the possibility of their legalization. The meeting discussed about the support Greece is to give for the membership of Albania to the European structures, especially in the Council of Europe, the problem of the Greek minority in Albania as a bridge between the two countries, etc.

Both commissions of the foreign policy agreed to compile a joint plan to further improve the bilateral relations.

Kosovar President Meets With Party Leaders

AU1904102395 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English No 597, 18 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President of the Republic of Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, has been on a visit to Albania since last week. After meeting over the weekend with Albanian President Dr. Sali Berisha, with whom he discussed the recent developments in Albania and Kosova, President Rugova met yesterday with leaders of the ruling Democratic Party of Albania (PD), Dr. Tritan Shehu, general secretary, Tomor Dosti and Ali Spahia, vice-chairmen, and the leaders of opposition Socialist Party of Albania (PS), Servet Pellumbi, vice-chairman, Namik Dokle and Ilir Meta, senior officials.

Dr. Tritan Shehu, General Secretary of the PD, said his party will work to see that its program be implemented by the year 1996, when new elections will take place in Albania. He stressed the need for closer cooperation of the PD and the Democratic League of Kosova (LDK) and other political forces in Kosova. The Democratic Party of Albania will continue to work on the internationalization of the Kosova question till it is fully resolved, Dr. Shehu said.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova appreciated the PD's support for Kosova and reiterated the position of the Kosova leadership on the urgency of solving the Kosova question pursuant to the will of the people for an independent Kosova.

The spokesman of the Socialist Party of Albania said the current situation in Kosova and the region were discussed in the meeting with president of the Republic of Kosova. He said the need for close cooperation of political forces in Albania and Kosova to cope with the "volatile situation" was stressed.

Gives Thanks for 'Support'

AU1904111095 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 18 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A spokesman for the Albanian Social Democratic Party [PSDSh] reports that Deputy Chairmen Haxhi Aliko and Paskal Milo and Secretary General Gaqo Apostoli received the president of the Republic of Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, at a meeting held at party headquarters this morning. At this meeting, which was held in a spirit of fraternity, Mr. Rugova thanked them for the support the PSDSh has continuously given the Government of Kosova in resolving the national question and meeting the demands and options put forward by the Albanian people of Kosova who, as is known, are experiencing unprecedented Serb violence and terror.

For their part, the PSDSh leaders stressed the need to elaborate a platform on the national question, one to which all the political forces of the entire Albanian nation can contribute.

Mr. Rugova agreed with the PSDSh's position and supported it, at the same time suggesting another meeting in the near future at which to discuss how to better organize this work.

Within this framework, Mr. Rugova appealed to the PSDSh leaders as regards the situation in Kosova and the current duty to face the overall and extraordinary Serb pressure, which keeps increasing day by day.

At the meeting was discussed the need to better institutionalize contacts among political parties in Kosova and Albania and not leave that to chance, apart from the difficulties existing in establishing these contacts.

The participants devoted special attention to the stance maintained by international institutions and parties on the problem of Kosova and the new nuances noticed in this direction. They expressed support for the latest initiative by President Berisha, who called on Greece for better services—as President Rugova called it—in relations between Serbia and Albanians in Kosova.

At the end of the meeting, President Rugova expressed his gratitude to the PSDSh and other Albanian political parties that have maintained the same stance on the Kosova problem.

Human Rights Union [PBDNj] [Greek minority party] Chairman Vasil Melo received Dr. Rugova at PBDNj headquarters today. Melo thanked Rugova for the visit and assessed as valuable his efforts to protect the rights of the Kosovar people and solve the Kosova issue. Melo

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also told Rugova that, in all the meetings held with representatives of European and world diplomacy, the PBDNj has denounced the repression and violence systematically being perpetrated against the Kosovar people and, at the same time, has requested that Kosova gain its freedom and rights in conformity with the rights given to nations in the framework of international conventions.

Mr. Melo further stressed the idea that, under the existing circumstances, there should be a preliminary understanding among the political forces in Kosova and the Albanian state as regards a clear position on finding an optimal solution to the problem of Kosova.

Mr. Rugova, for his part, thanked Melo and the PBDNj for the position they have maintained and continue to maintain as regards the Kosova problem and expressed his desire that they hold more frequent meetings in the future to discuss and exchange ideas about the problems facing us, assessing meetings such as these not only fruitful but also necessary.

The meeting was very warm, fraternal, and friendly, a report issued for the RTSh by a party spokesman states.

Official on Past Training of Foreign Terrorists

AU1904082595 Paris AFP in English 2319 GMT 18 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, April 18 (AFP)—Albania trained and financed foreign terrorist groups during its communist dictatorship, the head of a government anti-corruption agency said Tuesday.

Citing files of the former communist party, the official, Blerim Cela, told AFP that in 1964 the party created an 11.6 million-dollar "solidarity fund," four million dollars of which was used to finance small Marxist-Leninst groups around the world and leftwing extremist groups in Italy and Germany.

The goal of the plan was to "prepare the triumph of the proletarian revolution," Cela said.

Albania emerged in December 1991 from decades of hardline communism that left it the poorest and most isolated country in Europe.

Cela said the party files showed that from 1964 to 1970, many small Marxist-Leninist groups took training courses in Albanian military schools and then did six-month stints in the Albanian Army. They mainly came from Sudan, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Indonesia and Ecuador.

Cela said that in this period, a total of 244,000 dollars was spent on French Marxist-Leninist groups.

In addition to the "solidarity fund" of the communist party, the Albanian Defense Ministry chipped in 200,000 dollars to train foreign terrorists, Cela said.

Part of the "solidarity fund" went for the publication in foreign countries of the writings of then communist dictator Enver Hoxha, and another portion was for party propaganda.

In 1990, the fund allocated 400,000 dollars for the communist party newspaper to buy a printing press in Denmark but the equipment never arrived in Albania, he said.

Cela also said that last week his agency, called the State Control Board, had asked judicial authorities to open another investigation into the activities of Ramiz Alia, former head of the communist party, for embezzling money from the "solidarity fund."

Alia was sentenced in July 1994 to nine years in jail for abuse of power and violating the rights of Albanian citizens. In September the sentence was reduced to eight years.

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Videnov, Premyanov Report on Legislative Activity

AU1804145695 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 18 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 18 April the regular weekly Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] news conference took place.

Prime Minister Zhan Videnov, chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, talked about the priorities of the Bulgarian Government in its activity related to European integration. Those priorities are: European integration, regional security, and regional cooperation and development.

According to Videnov the amendments to the Land Bill that have been adopted are necessary, and the president should not exercise his right to a postponing veto.

Krasimir Premyanov, chairman of the Democratic Left parliamentary faction, drew up a balance sheet of the activity of the National Assembly until now. Some 130 draft bills have been submitted, 65 of them by the Council of Ministers. Some 44 of these draft bills are actually ratifications of international agreements.

The Democratic Left parliamentary faction has submitted 18 draft bills. So far the National Assembly has adopted 40 bills, and five have been adopted at first reading.

The priority draft bills that will be debated by the National Assembly are the draft Bill on Defense and Armed Forces, the draft Bill on Education, and the package of bills related to crime and social issues.

Commander: Budget Cuts Dooming Missile Troops

AU1804143095 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 12 Apr 95 p 6

[Article by Major General Angel Marin, commander of Missile Troops and Artillery Ground Troops: "Senseless Hostility Sapping Army's Strength"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Thoughts about the situation in the Missile Troops and the Artillery Ground Troops, and an analysis of the factors that determine their present and future, are giving rise to serious concern. Questions are emerging that remain unanswered. One is: Would we allow the Missile Troops and Artillery Ground Troops, a basic military branch, to come to a fatal end? There is a horrible answer to the question about the situation in the force and whether it would be able to defeat the enemy when necessary—which is what it is expected to do?

The answer, if the truth were told, would be cruel and bitter. The alternative is to keep silent. Therefore my reaction is also to keep silent. My silence is not intended to conceal the conspicuous problems, such as the shortage of arms and ammunition, their poor quality, the shortage of combat training opportunities, and the lack of everyday and social security—all of which call for immediate changes, modernization, the introduction of automated control systems, and the immediate allocation of funds.

It is difficult to answer the following question from either an ethical or a purely professional point of view: Have we not wasted the capital built up by generations over centuries: namely, our combat readiness and ability? Hope of salvation is very small against the background of the implacable cuts in the military budget over the last four to five years. The Ministry of Defense's 1990 budget was 3 percent lower than what was needed. In 1991 it was 14 percent lower; in 1992, 32.2 percent; in 1993, 64.7 percent; and in 1994, 65.6 percent. If this trend is not halted—indeed, if it is not clearly reversed, so that the military budget conforms to the minimum level below which it is impossible to maintain a combat-ready army—a fatal end is inevitable.

The result will be as in the old tale: the horses will fight one another other, and the donkeys will breath the dust. Instead of joint actions in the name of a strong army, the energy of the people from whom we expect decisions and action is being wasted on quarrels. In addition, their hostility toward each other is such as even states would not have toward their enemies in time of war. One can expect no fraternal embrace soon. The hatred will continue to eat us alive. However, this hatred should at least be tamed to bearable dimensions that are safe for the country so that it does not sap the strength of the Army and the nation.

As if this were not trouble enough, there are other problems.

One of the problems is the principle on which the little we do receive is distributed. The following rule applies: the more noise you make the more you get, especially if your voice is heard at the top and the people there pay attention. Where is fair and objective assessment? Are we forgetting the danger of sporadic piecemeal solutions of problems? Is it right to allocate for the modernization and rearming of the Missile Troops and Artillery—if it materializes at all—3-4 percent of what has been allocated to the entire Army, when those units account for more than 60-70 percent of the strike force against the enemy? It is absolutely clear where it pays to "invest."

It is very dangerous to act on the basis of other people's advice. Instead of striving to preserve, update, and utilize the good missiles we have, as compensation for the arms quota imposed on us because of the old and no-longer-existing division into blocs, and instead of guaranteeing a higher level of combat ability or finding a prudent solution for replacing the missiles (and there is a solution), we are rolling headlong down the slope of liquidation.

Indeed, the ridiculous (and dangerous) efforts to imitate others—regardless of whether it is necessary or not—is evidently reaching global proportions. Let us remember

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what some said about the Gulf War, what a hullaballoo was raised in praise of the U.S. Patriot missiles, and ridiculing the Iraqi Scuds. The transparent hint was made that we too have such missiles and that the question should now be how long we should keep them. And what were the facts?

"The Patriot missiles succeeded in hitting only 9 percent (nine percent!) of their targets. This fact shows clearly that public opinion was deceived by the missile manufacturers and by administration officials." The quotation is taken from a report of the U.S. General Accounting Office [Smetnata Palata]. Well, we took the bait.

Who is responsible for this and similar infatuations? Now the bill on the Armed Forces and defense is about to be adopted. The illusion is being nurtured that this bill will resolve all problems. Its adoption really is extremely necessary, but it is also extremely insufficient. More legislation in required to regulate not only the activity of the Army, but also the activity of other institutions that affect our national security. We need resources, a serious policy, a positive attitude toward it, and real action to preserve and strengthen our national security. This also applies to preserving the Army's cadre potential.

In recent years we had to suffer several campaigns in which officers were dismissed on the basis of various criteria (or rather false criteria). The subject—or rather drama—of the colonels became a familiar story last year. Some were dismissed; others left on their own; none have been replaced. Who is to restore this loss, and when and how? Is it even possible at all?

What I have said is not a threat or an attempt "to organize a mutiny," but rather an expression of pain and a plea for prudence. Either this process is stopped, or our collapse will continue. At the moment hopes of the first are negligible, while premonition about the second, horrible.

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Officer Says UNPROFOR Contingent Incompetent

AU1804162495 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Apr 95 p 1

[CTK and "(per)"-attributed report: "A Warrant Officer Said to Holan: The Czech UNPROFOR Battalion Command Is Incompetent"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Lack of discipline, poor military preparation, and incompetence among the command corps are the main reasons for the tragic incidents within the Czech UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] battalion in Croatia. Warrant Officer Jaroslav Novotny from the Air Defense Training Center said this to Defense Minister Vilem Holan during his visit to Jihlava on 13 April.

Novotny has served twice in the peacekeeping forces and returned from them last year. He told the minister that he had met soldiers who did not even know how to disassemble an automatic submachine gun. According to him, there are commanders there who have never been in command of troops but have served mostly in district military administrations or in research institutes and have no combat experience. They do not know what to expect from the troops.

This means that, during redeployment, a soldier finds himself in the role of subordinate to an inexperienced reservist. The soldiers see that incompetent people are commanding them, and their lack of interest stems from this, said Novotny. According to Holan, the preparation period for the people who come from the reserves has to be extended and intensified.

Apr Poll Shows Increase in Support for CSSD

AU1804145295 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 15 Apr 95 p 2

[Article by "(iza)": "According to the IVVM, Support for the CSSD Is Growing"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—According to an opinion poll conducted by the IVVM [Institute for Public Opinion Research] in April, voter support for the Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD] has increased by 2 percent, to 17 percent during the past month. Of the parties that regularly cross the 5-percent threshold for entry into parliament, support for the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM] fell by 1 percent, to 8 percent, and remained stable for the other parties.

That is, the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] still has the highest voter support—27 percent, the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] has 8 percent, and the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party has 7 percent.

According to this public opinion poll, the other parties would not get into parliament. The Association for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party would get 3 percent, the Free Democrats (Civic Movement) would get 2 percent, and the Bohemian-Moravian Union of the Center would get 1.5 percent. The ODS's potential voters are made up, first and foremost, of businessmen and people with a university education (43 percent each). The CSSD has most support in North Bohemia (26 percent), ODA in West Bohemia (26 percent), and the KSCM among citizens with an elementary education (19 percent).

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Meciar Disclosed 'Highly Classified Information'

AU1804143395 Bratislava SME in Slovak 15 Apr 95 p 2

[CTK report: "According to I. Urban, V. Meciar Proceeded From Highly Classified Information in His Accusations Against SIS"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kosice—The special supervisory body (OKO) is currently preparing a report for the Slovak parliament on the facts ascertained in its investigation of the activities of the Slovak Information Service (SIS), while it intends to submit a complaint to the Prosecutor General's Office in this matter. Igor Urban, an OKO member and Movement for a Democratic Slovakia deputy, made this statement in an interview with a CTK correspondent.

Urban confirmed that Slovak Prime Minister V. Meciar, in his speech at the last parliament meeting—in which, among other things, he accused SIS and President M. Kovac of shadowing him—proceeded from highly classified information that OKO gave to the prime minister and the government on the basis of its current investigation. According to Urban, the bodies involved in criminal proceedings have to deal with the results of the investigation into SIS's activities, and "they will determine to what extent the law and, as the case may be, the Constitution were infringed." OKO will propose to the parliamentary chairman that the report be submitted in May at an in camera session of the chamber. "The aim of the report is not to accuse anyone but to make a statement on the situation and to inform parliament of this," he underlined.

Urban, who is also a member of the parliamentary investigative commission inquiring into the legality of the sale to India of pontoon bridges from the Slovak Army's arsenal, a decision made by former Defense Minister P. Kanis from the Party of the Democratic Left, also emphasized that this commission's work is drawing to a close. According to him, the commission has uncovered "grave facts." He did not rule out the possibility that it will report on its findings at the May session of parliament. According to Urban, parliament will also be informed of the investigation into the mandates of the Democratic Union's deputies at its May session.

Deputy PM Outlines Problems in EU Harmonization

AU1804134995 Bratislava SME in Slovak 15 Apr 95 p 1

[CTK report: "Slovakia Will Submit Its Application to the EU by 30 June"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Slovakia is at the start of its harmonization with the EU norms, Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Kalman told reporters following a session of the Government Council on the Slovak Republic's Integration Into the EU, which was held on 13 April. At the same time, he pointed out that this will involve a "very long-term, complex, and demanding process" of harmonization, even though Slovakia wants to submit its application to become an EU member by 30 June.

Issues concerning the harmonizaiton of Slovakia's legal code and legal norms with those of the EU were also on the agenda. The Council was thus preparing itself for the expected white paper, which, according to L. Bystricky, the secretary of the Council's Secretariat, should represent the "maximum summarization of the EU's minimum requirements" for the associated countries. Kalman admitted that a lack of cadres capable of guaranteeing implementation of the more than 8,000 European norms into Slovak law is a major problem for the harmonization of Slovak law. "There will be problems in all spheres. We are also aware of the shortage of linguistically equipped lawyers and legislators," he said. Therefore, next week, the government is to appoint a university to prepare suitable cadres.

According to Kalman, as of 1 February (the day the Association Agreement came into force), each new Slovak law should correspond to European norms. However, he was unable to reply to a question from the CTK on whether the recent amendment to the education law, which curbed centrally the role of the self-administrations, corresponds to this requirement and whether the prepared law on investment funds will correspond to it. "This is something we have to determine," he said. He refrained from giving any details on the envisaged problems in the agriculture department.

Government Approves Accord on Danube

LD1804214095 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 18 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The 17th regular meeting of the Slovak Government was held in Bratislava today, chaired by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. The government appointed Ivan Lexa to the post of head of the Slovak Intelligence Service. Apart from that, it discussed and approved the draft project for public works for job seekers. Editor Bibiana Gunisova provides further information on the Cabinet session:

[Gunisova] The draft law of the National Council that supplements the labor code and some other laws was withdrawn from today's session by the proposer, Olga Keltosova, minister of labor, social affairs, and the family, because the tripartite session had not taken place yet.

The government discussed and approved reports on the course and results of the prime minister's official visit to France and Bavaria, and appointed Minister of Environment Jozef Zlocha to the post of chairman of the Commission of the Slovak Government for Radiation Catastrophies [predseda komisie vlady Slovenske republiky pro radiacne havarie]. It also discussed and approved proposals for the territorial division of villages and names for new villages, and proposals for changes to

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names of villages. With regard to the law on territorial division, a referendum took place in which the citizens expressed agreement with the division of villages and their names.

The government also discussed and approved draft measures to improve information on the Slovak Republic abroad. It entrusted the foreign minister, in cooperation with the ministers of culture and economy and the head of the government office, to submit a comprehensive proposal of measures to improve information on the Slovak Republic abroad by 31 May 1995.

At its meeting, the government also discussed and approved a draft agreement between the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Government of Hungary on some temporary technical measures on water entering the Danube and the Moson branch of the Danube. Foreign Ministry Spokesman Juraj Matejovsky said about this agreement:

[Begin Matejovsky recording] This agreement is in harmony with the interests of the Slovak Republic in the International Court's review of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water project. After the agreement is signed by the two parties in the next few days, the Slovak side will increase the flow through the Moson Danube and the right-hand bottom sill up to 43 cubic meters per second, and the Hungarian side will start building the partially grouted bottom dam at the level of the 1,843th kilometer within 10 days from the signing of the agreement and will complete the building within 50 days of the beginning of the work.

The Slovak side will increase the flow in the old bed of the Danube to equal an annual average of 400 cubic meters per second, depending on the flow in the Danube and the time of year. Should one or other party to the agreement fail to comply with the stipulations of this agreement, if one of the parties feels its rights have been harmed, the text of the agreement includes an article concerning the mediating role of European Union experts. [end recording]

[Gunisova] Also present at the news conference was Dominik Kocinger, government plenipotentiary for the building of the Gabcikovo water barrage, who is empowered to sign this agreement:

[Begin Kocinger recording] Preparatory work to complete the agreement is under way on both our side and the Hungarian side. It is possible that the ageement will be ready for signing tomorrow. In the original agreement of September 1977, both sides had the opportunity to ask for a temporary increase in the flow to the old bed of the Danube over and above the amounts that were anchored in the agreement—50 cubic meters in the winter and 200 cubic meters in the spring and summer period—but the provision was that they would lose the commensurate part of the share in the generation of electric power. One has to say, simply, that the Hungarian side will have to draw from its own resources. For both sides, this should be a signal that we can agree with the Hungarian side on such serious questions as the Gabcikovo water barrage. [end recording]

Further on Background of New Intelligence Chief

LD1804195095 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 18 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovak Government today appointed Ivan Lexa as director of the Slovak Intelligence Service [SIS]. Renata Havranova, our colleague and reporter for the daily PRACE, phoned in more details from Bratislava.

[Havranova] Ivan Lexa is one of the closest aides of Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. He is well known for his antipathy toward President Kovac, who twice refused to appoint him a state secretary because of his moral inadequacy.

Lexa was also a chosen delegate of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], who, after the early elections, asked President Michal Kovac to step down from office.

Lexa's name also appears in connection with the affair involving SIS. An HZDS deputy, he is also chairman of OKO [Osobitny Kontrolny Organ], the parliamentary body currently investigating the activities of SIS. It was Lexa who informed Prime Minister Meciar, who then, on the grounds of this information, accused SIS officers of illegal practices, of following him, and of therefore threatening the interests of the Slovak Republic.

In parliament, Meciar also voiced a suspicion that SIS was colluding with President Kovac and the former government of Jozef Moravcik against the HZDS and Meciar. These allegations were rebutted by both President Kovac and Vladimir Mitro, former director of SIS.

Contrary to this, Ivan Lexa said, in connection with the investigations into SIS activities, that the results of the investigations will be presented to parliament in May. He indicated that the findings are extremely serious and will prove not only that Meciar was right but also who was behind the alleged constitutional crisis in March 1994 that led to a repeated dismissal of Meciar from the post of prime minister.

Democratic Left Head on Government Policy Crisis

LD1804184095 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 18 Apr 95

[Interview with Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left, by Bernard Hornak, following a news conference by the Party of the Democratic Left on 18 April; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Hornak] You said today that the government coalition has found itself in a crisis with regard to its program, organizational activities, and

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personnel issues. You also stressed that there were fundamental differences within the government coalition in respect of key issues.

[Weiss] Despite a joint policy statement, the government coalition is suffering from truly fundamental strife over key issues. This consequently results in doubt being cast on its policies, not only at home but also abroad.

What confidence can the government enjoy, given the following: Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar is to participate in main celebrations to mark the 50th anniversary of Slovakia's liberation from fascism. At the same time, the chairman of the coalition Slovak National Party takes the floor at the Slovak National Council, applauded by 10 or 12 deputies representing the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia for praising Jozef Tiso, who had tens of thousands of Slovak Jews deported to concentration camps and himself decorated SS men for suppressing the Slovak national uprising.

What confidence can the government enjoy, given that its prime minister signs the Hungarian-Slovak treaty and the chairman of the coalition Slovak National Party plays down the signing, promising that his party will oppose the treaty in parliament? [passage omitted]

A third example forces us to face the question of the trustworthiness of the government political statement and political declarations by some of its ministers about Slovakia's interest in becoming a member of the EU when, at the same time, the chairman of the Association of Workers of Slovakia, which is a coalition party, signs a statement describing the EU's policy as barbaric. In my view, this is not just a matter of lack of political culture; it also concerns Slovakia's orientation in the year of important talks on NATO's enlargement and intensive preparations for the EU intergovernmental conference to decide on the enlargement of the EU, including Slovakia's membership.

To me, these are strong enough reasons to expect the prime minister to finally say whether he shares the political attitudes of his coalition partners. [passage omitted]

DU, SDL Concern About 'Authoritarian Regime'

AU1904085395 Bratislava SME in Slovak 15 Apr 95 p 2

[Article by "(bog, jo)": "An Authoritarian Regime Is Being Established and a Massive Concentration of Economic Power Is Taking Place"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Representatives of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] and the Democratic Union [DU] held an exchange of views on the domestic political situation on 13 April and discussed possible joint steps in parliament. According to SDL Chairman P. Weiss, they agreed that in Slovakia "an authoritarian regime is being established and a massive concentration of economic power is taking place." In his view, the policy of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia is becoming more and more right-wing, "even ultra-right-wing." He added that the two parties also agreed that statements made by Slovak National Party [SNS] representatives (Minister Slavkovska, J. Slota, and V. Moric) vindicating and eulogizing President Tiso damage the Slovak Republic's interests abroad. Along with DU Chairman J. Moravcik, he said that the time is ripe for Prime Minister Meciar to adopt a point of view on the statements made by his coalition partners.

Weiss pointed out that privatization is oriented against the interests of ordinary people, that "coupon privatization is a travesty of social justice," and that the coalition is interested in ensuring that the majority of property is distributed among its supporters. In connection with the so-called basic treaty between Slovakia and Hungary, the DU and SDL chairmen expressed their concern that the insertion of Council of Europe Recommendation No. 1201 was politically and legally "unfortunate." According to them, Article 1201 will provoke interpretive disputes that may turn into political conflicts. In reply to a question from SME on whether the DU and SDL deputies will support the basic treaty's ratification in parliament, J. Moravcik and P. Weiss said that they have not yet adopted a definitive point of view on this. Moravcik stated that the Council of Europe summit in Vienna had rejected Recommendation No. 1201. According to him, it is necessary to define clearly what is applicable from this article, especially in connection with collective rights. He added that it is necessary to look for other mechanisms—for example, to consider whether "an article could be inserted into the Slovak Constitution stating that collective rights are not possible in [ethnically] mixed areas." There is also agreement between DU and the SDL in rejecting the draft amendment to the Penal Code, which the SNS intends to submit to the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NR SR]. "It has such elastic articles that it would be easy to launch political trials based on them," said Weiss. The two parties agreed at the meeting that they would promote certain joint draft laws in the NR SR and support the demand for live relays of the plenum's proceedings.

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Foreign Minister Calls For Extension of NPT

LD1804212695 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 18 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At the conference on the revision of the Non-Proliferation Treaty [NPT] in New York, our country is being represented by Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs, who delivered a speech at today's meeting. Kovacs gave a telephone interview to the "Newsreel" program.

[Begin Kovacs recording] The NPT has proved, over 25 years, that it has an essential role in the control of nuclear armament and in the elimination of the danger of nuclear war. Therefore, Hungary advocates the extension of the treaty for an unlimited period, and with no strings attached. We want the treaty to be universal. That is: The countries that are not as yet signatories of the treaty—for example India, Pakistan, Brasil, or Israel—should join it.

Should the extension of this treaty fail to be concluded, that will have an unfavorable effect on other disarmament talks. It will shift the world in the direction of nuclear armament, and the resulting atmosphere will limit the opportunities for the peaceful use of nuclear energy. We are convinced, however, that its conclusion will strengthen trust and security. [end recording]

Statistical Data on Poverty, Welfare Benefits

95CH0207A Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 25 Mar 95 p 11

[Unattributed article: "The End of the Poverty Threshold"]

[FBIS Translated Text] To explain why the regular monthly reporting of the poverty threshold has been discontinued as of last December, an announcement from the KSH [Central Statistical Office] states: "The temporary absence of the data is not causing any significant loss of information. After all, the basic purpose of calculating the data is to use it as a standard of eligibility for benefits provided by the social safety net; however, that net is not yet in place."

The political leadership had first ordered the monthly calculation of the poverty threshold in 1968, but for 20 years the data was classified. The KSH has been publishing it only since the late 1980's. Mrs. Keszthelyi, nee Maria Redei, head of the KSH's Department of Household Income and Consumption Statistics, claims that the present decision does not mean a reversion to the old secrecy, because anyone can calculate the current poverty threshold line, simply by multiplying the preceding month's poverty threshold by the given month's consumer price index. (The KSH will continue to publish the consumer price index on the 15th day of each month.) On that basis, the per capita subsistence income for a family of four (including two children) has increased from 13,306 forints in December 1994, the last month for which poverty threshold data was published, to 14,226 forints in February of this year.

It is quite another matter that if the poverty threshold figures of the KSH were used as the safety net's "standard of eligibility, the social safety net would have to support about 60 percent of Hungary's population." As Eva Konig, a staff member of the Ministry of Social Welfare, explained to HVG [HETI VILAGGAZDASAG]: "The KSH's poverty threshold applied to a poor country, but it did not tell us anything about that poor country's poor people." During Konig's career, the poverty threshold has never been used as "an index of need." At most only trade union representatives referred to it, in debates before forums for the reconciliation of interests.

From all this, experts within the state administration eventually concluded that it was not worth the effort to continue calculating the costs of the "foods necessary to maintain a moderately active way of life" and other items in the subsistence budget adopted in 1988, and that the logic should instead be turned around. Thus the Ministry of Social Welfare is now striving to devise a "social minimum" that allegedly will start out from what the state budget is able to afford. Instead of determining how much is required for minimum subsistence, it will determine how much is available for that purpose. The government plans to use this amount as the poverty threshold for means-testing benefits, which will no longer be based on entitlement.

Tibor Draskovics, state secretary at the Ministry of Finance, said last week that the "social minimum" would be equal—and this is probably a rough guess—to a per capita monthly income of 15,000 forints; and that claims for benefits would be means-tested on the basis of individual income-tax returns, which he, too, regarded as unreliable. The view at the Ministry of Social Welfare is that the detailed income statements that local governments are requiring even now for claims for regular welfare assistance or "supplemental income assistance for the chronically unemployed" would be more suitable for this purpose. Namely, the income statements include also income—welfare benefits, for instance—that is not included on the income-tax return. Participants in the so-called Hungarian Household Panel fill out similar questionnaires. Although they were assured that the survey was being conducted solely for the purpose of research, the summation of last year's figures revealed that reported incomes totaled 20 to 25 percent less than even the official social income, without the undocumented economy.

The data on income distribution obtained from the aforementioned survey shows Hungarian society to be poorer than it actually is. Yet experts believe that not-even-sharply-focused means tests would be able to provide more accurate estimates.

According to the Hungarian Household Panel's latest survey, conducted last spring, about 70 percent of Hungary's households had per capita net incomes of under

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15,000 forints per month. The families eligible in this sense received 79 percent of the total maternity benefits, 69 percent of the total family allowances, and 83 percent of the total unemployment benefits. The panel's data indicates, among the social benefits, that family allowance is distributed most evenly among society's income classes. The eighth decile—or, if you prefer, the upper middle class—is getting 12 percent of the total family allowance. The richest 10 percent of the population is getting 8.4 percent; while the poorest 10 percent is getting exactly 10 percent. The claimants of maternity benefits belong mostly to the middle-income deciles. Claimants in the fifth, sixth and seventh deciles jointly collect more than 40 percent of all such benefits, but the deciles with the lowest or slightly above-average incomes are getting the largest share of the unemployment benefits. In the case of the last two types of benefit, therefore, a difference of even 1000 or 2000 forints in setting the "social minimum" would exclude broad social groups from eligibility.

Agnes Varga, a Ministry of Social Welfare staff member, told HVG: "Although I am duty-bound to work on calculating the social minimum, professionally, I am convinced that the eligible could be targeted more accurately on the basis of unreported criteria such as chronic unemployment, living on a detached farm, more than three children in the family, or being a single parent."

Incidentally, the ministry's experts believe it is illusory to assume that an index on which the amounts of the benefits would depend can be set objectively. When establishing the methods for calculating the poverty threshold that has now expired, for instance, the trade unions were able to assert their will.

Pasts of Judges Handling Informer Cases Probed

95CH0188D Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Mar 95 p 5

[Article by Imre Bednarik: "Two Screening Judges Expected To Be Discharged"]

[FBIS Translated Text] If it becomes known that a screening judge handed down, in the past, sentences now subject to the law of nullity, parliament must ex officio declare his or her election invalid. This is how the legal opinion of the governing parties as regards the labor situation of screening judges can be summarized. In view of power politics within the coalition, this opinion anticipates the removal of Jozsef Eigner and Gabor Botos. The government has indicated that the final amendment of the law on informers could put an end to the discussion on the interpretation of the law, which is still ongoing following the decision by the Constitutional Court. One point of discussion could be the extension of the circle of persons who could be screened. On this point, we were told that the current government also considers the screening of church leaders unnecessary.

As we have reported earlier, the parliament's National Security Committee has requested that the Constitutional Committee formulate an opinion as regards the possible methods of recalling screening judges Jozsef Eigner and Gabor Botos. This step became necessary because it came to light that, in the fifties, the two judges handed down a number of sentences that would disqualify them from being members of a committee that screens officials in important positions and searches for informers.

The coalition representatives of the parliamentary subcommittee have already formulated their legal opinion in reply to the National Security Committee. According to their opinion, if it becomes known that a screening judge handed down, in the past, sentences now subject to the law of nullity, parliament must declare his or her election invalid. In the unanimous opinion of two members of the parliamentary subcommittee, Istvan Szigethy (Association of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]) and Laszlo Toller (Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]), the candidates for the office of screening judge, before they were elected, gave a written statement to the effect that their earlier sentences were not subject to the laws of nullity. For this reason, if the opposite later comes to light, parliament must ex officio regard their employment as null and void.

According to the labor law, the parliament, which elected them, must immediately terminate their employment. This step can be proposed by the national security committee or by any member of parliament. Istvan Balsai (Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]), the opposition representative on the subcommittee, indicated that he saw no reason to formulate a position until the national security committee sent them the entirety of the documentation concerning Eigner and Botos.

We had also reported earlier that the screening procedures have been interrupted because, in keeping with the decision by the Constitutional Court, the judges would like to expand the range of the archives that can be included in the search.

A few days ago the judges received a reply to their letter to the Office of the Prime Minister in which Elemer Kiss, administrative state secretary of that office, indicated that the formulation of a government position was in progress. Kiss told NEPSZABADSAG that several ministries were working simultaneously on the interpretation of the law. According to opinions up to now, the portions of the text of the law on informers remaining in effect after the Constitutional Court decision present several problems of interpretation. The final amendment of the law could provide a satisfactory answer to these problems, Kiss said.

The Constitutional Court set the end of September as the deadline for the correction. It is conceivable that screening will be delayed until the amendment is completed. After the decision of the Constitutional Court, another of the disputed points is whether to expand or to narrow down the circle of individuals who can be screened.

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Those who argue for an expansion consider the screening of the leaders of political parties, social organizations, and churches necessary because they, too, are prominent public figures. Sandor Keresztes, honorary president of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] and a former Hungarian ambassador to the Vatican, told NEPSZABADSAG earlier that, because of the constitutional separation between church and state, he does not consider the screening of church leaders necessary. Bishop Csaba Ternyak, secretary of the Hungarian Catholic Bishops Conference, said in an earlier statement that judgment belonged to God, not to man. According to information given NEPSZABADSAG, the present government also considers the screening of church leaders unnecessary.

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Walesa Comments on Talks With Romanian President

LD1904090895 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0826 GMT 19 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 19 Apr—Lech Walesa, president of the Polish Republic, said after today's meeting "in a close group" with Romanian President Ion Iliescu, who is on a visit to Poland: "Our viewpoints are almost identical."

Walesa said he discussed with Iliescu the cooperation programs between the two countries and the situation in Europe. "The topics were so interesting that we forgot the clock," the president said. The talks in the close group ran overtime. Plenary talks between the Polish and Romanian delegations, chaired by both presidents, then began.

Walesa-Oleksy Conflict Over Moscow Visit

WS1904113295 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Apr 95 p 3

[Article by "knysz" and "krzem": "Walesa Does Not Want the Prime Minister To Go to Moscow, Oleksy Insists: I Am Asking Zych"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Prime Minister Oleksy has not changed his decision to go to Moscow on 9 May to attend celebrations commemorating the end of World War II. The president would prefer Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych to go instead.*

The conflict between the prime minister and the president regarding the Moscow celebrations continues, although both sides did send feeble signals yesterday that they are willing to negotiate.

In radio interviews and at the government session held yesterday, Prime Minister Oleksy repeatedly stated that he "would attempt" to speak with Lech Walesa. He reported that he had been unsuccessfully trying to talk to the president over the phone for the last week and a half. "The secretary answered each time and said the president was busy."

Oleksy said the most important matter at hand was the anniversary celebrations "and not representation of one type or another." He did say, however, that he was going to Moscow and has a "mandate that the Council of Ministers gave him last week and confirmed today."

Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski found himself in the toughest position. He wants to remain loyal to both the head of government and the president. In a statement for the "Wiadomosci" and "Panorama" newscasts yesterday, he said he would not act as a mediator between the two conflicting sides.

Pressed by a journalist who asked: "Who will Oleksy represent in Moscow in this case?," Bartoszewski replied that the prime minister is always the representative of the country insofar as the government is legitimate. "And the government of the Republic of Poland is undeniably legitimate," he stressed. The foreign minister added that, as public statements indicate, "the president claims otherwise." "I do not claim anything; I am just observing," said Bartoszewski.

Meanwhile, Presidential Spokesman Leszek Spalinski told "Wiadomosci" yesterday that Walesa continues to claim that Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych should go to Moscow as the sole representative of Poland.

Asked why Walesa has not met with the prime minister so far, the spokesman replied that the president was very busy. He then publicly advised the prime minister to contact the president by mail.

Prime Minister Comments on Ties to Walesa

LD1804192495 Warsaw Radio Zet Network in Polish 0615 GMT 18 Apr 95

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy by reporter Krzysztof Skowronski; place not given—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Skowronski] Good morning.

[Oleksy] Good morning.

[Skowronski] How can the government help the victims of the gas explosion in Gdansk?

[Oleksy] Minister Marek Borowski, head of the Council of Ministers Office, went to Gdansk yesterday. He returned during the night. He saw the entire tragedy and will report back today at the Council of Ministers meeting. We are going to add this item to today's agenda so that we can help people quickly and efficiently, find funds, and work out a plan.

[Skowronski] How can the government help?

[Oleksy] Financially, first of all. We would want to review our possibilities today. Funds will have to be found not only by the government but also by the provincial authorities. There are over 70 homeless families who have lost everything. This is a tragedy for them and for all of us.

I would like to appoint a team today, comprising three or four ministers, which will take responsibility for quick and efficient help, not only financial but also in housing, equipment, and any assistance needed. In such moments, people have to feel they are not alone.

[Skowronski] Does the government have funds for this?

[Oleksy] The government has reserves, which are getting smaller, but not only these reserves. Maybe by moving funds we will find the means. Certainly these people cannot be left without help.

[Skowronski] When did you learn about this tragedy?

[Oleksy] Yesterday, and we made the immediate decision to send Marek Borowski to Gdansk.

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[Skowronski] Are you going to Moscow?

[Oleksy] Before Easter this issue was the subject of many sensational reports. Let me remind you that I was reacting to the invitation from Prime Minister Chernomyrdin. This could not have been discussed with the president because I had not been able to get in touch with him for a week and a half. I talk about it with regret. For a week and a half the head of government attempted on several occasions to get to the president and ask him for a meeting to discuss this invitation. It is beyond question that neither I nor anyone else can attempt to interfere in the president's competences. This is beyond discussion. I have proved more than once that I respect the president's competences, but it is an astonishing and negative phenomenon that the head of state could not find time to receive the prime minister on such important issues.

[Skowronski] How is that, Prime Minister? Does the prime minister not have a direct telephone to the president?

[Oleksy] The prime minister has a direct telephone but it is answered by a secretary, who says that the president is busy. This went on for a week and a half.

[Skowronski] Do you make the calls personally?

[Oleksy] Yes, I do.

[Skowronski] Inasmuch as the president clearly said that you will not represent Poland at Moscow's ceremonies, who will you represent?

[Oleksy] This is something incredible, what was included in this statement. I think that constitutional and legal experts will have plenty to think about because nobody questions the highest competence of the president to represent the country abroad, and the Constitution says that, but, at the same time, it does not mean questioning the right of other highest bodies in the state to represent the country abroad. Let us imagine a situation in which the prime minister of France goes somewhere and the president of France says, for example, that the prime minister has no right to say something or go somewhere. This is very bad. I think President Walesa's advisers took a wrong turn in their interpretation; after all, the anniversary of the tragic war, which is very important to Poland and Poland's role in this war was so big that its absence, well, I cannot accept the idea that Poland, for some reasons, even for the right reasons, will have to be absent when Polish soldiers, many of them marched as far as Berlin and raised the Polish flag there. [sentence as heard]

But let us say that the president wishes to be represented by the foreign minister. The Constitution says that the president performs his tasks abroad through the foreign minister. This does not mean that the foreign minister is the president's property because he is a member of the government and is subordinate to the head of government. Let us remember this. But even then, why should Minister Bartoszewski not go to Moscow? These are questions to the president about what lies at the base of such a policy as regards this anniversary. I remind you that this policy was not discussed with anybody as far as the government is concerned, although probably with Minister Bartoszewski.

[Skowronski] On 13 April, there was an opportunity to talk about it. Was it discussed, and why was no compromise reached between you?

[Oleksy] There was no compromise. I would rather not comment on this meeting. It lasted two hours and touched upon different topics. This meeting was not aimed at any agreement. This was the meeting during which most of the participants were to accept recommendations, not all of which were constitutional, as regards the activities of the government and its subordination. The government is subordinated to the Sejm and is accountable to parliament and to the people in the elections. We have to remember this as well, to see clearly what belongs to whom and who is responsible for what in the state. But, during this meeting, the issue of Moscow was discussed in a very unfriendly atmosphere, so it was difficult to expect any agreement. But I count upon and am open to further talks because we politicians must not treat the issue of the ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the victory over fascism as an element of a contemporary political game. This would be something offensive, and I want to say it clearly. We have to find agreement in Poland to pay tribute to the thousands who fought for Poland, not knowing what was going to happen next. They fought for the liberation of Poland and of the Polish nation from the claws of fascism. And from whichever way they marched, we have to pay tribute to them there.

[Skowronski] Nowak-Jezioranski says in today's GAZETA WYBORCZA that 9 May is both the day of victory over Germany and the beginning of the new occupation. What is your view?

[Oleksy] I do not share this view. I think this is a manipulative look at history. I have spoken about it already. I am of the opinion that we have to separate Stalinism and all the evil it brought to Poland—also a similar kind of victory—but let us remember that we are talking about 1945, when everybody rejoiced in the victory over Hitlerite Germany. Let us not link this to 1948, when Stalinism followed, a Soviet model, and the political subjugation of Poland. This was later. Before 1948 something was going on in Poland independently. Things are so confused that 1945 marks Stalinism in Poland, but this new occupation is not right from a historical point of view and is a tendentious view. This does not alter the fact, however, that the victory was bitter because it followed Yalta. Russia was not alone as a party in Yalta, while Poland was not present, and, if we are now making a bitter account, let us not blame ourselves as the Poles. Maybe all of us together in the world should recall Yalta. [passage as heard]

[Skowronski] The president talks sometimes about a new division of Europe.

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[Oleksy] Here the president plays a very good, warning role, and I share his views, although one should not use them too often. But these warnings arising from the lessons of history have been rightly used by the president and are needed in the contemporary European dialogue.

[Skowronski] You visited Brussels recently. How were our aspirations to NATO and to the European structures received there? Are you getting a political timetable, for which we have been fighting for many years?

[Oleksy] I am very satisfied with this visit. I did not expect to get a timetable. This is the main subject of our talks with the European structures, and we have to be keen to bring this timetable nearer; otherwise things will move to a too distant future. Our goal is clear. What is positive, what I achieved during high-level talks in the European Union [EU] and at NATO Headquarters was, I think, confirmation of the legitimacy of Polish aspirations and our rights to participate in the European structures. These are words, as in politics. They will become facts when dates are specified. Poland is waiting for the EU summit and a timetable for expanding NATO next year. For us, this timetable would mean a breakthrough on our road to NATO and the EU.

[Skowronski] How did you receive Russian declarations, the statement by Minister Grachev?

[Oleksy] It happens in politics that involved parties compete with different statements. We, Poland, have no part to play in what is going on between NATO and Russia. This is Russia's game vis-a-vis NATO. It can have no influence on Polish aspirations. These statements may cause concern because they sound a bit like from the past and show the Russian resolve due to which Poland always lost out. But let us remember that these statements are later discussed at various diplomatic levels. As the head of government, I follow with attention what has been going on in the East and reactions in the West because we also have to see the West's position in the context of disputes with Russia. Poland says clearly—and this is not going to change—that we want to join NATO and the EU and we do not agree with anyone from outside NATO or the EU deciding that.

[Skowronski] Are you going to talk about it with Prime Minister Chernomyrdin on 9 May?

[Oleksy] We shall see. It looks like that for the moment.

[Skowronski] And would you feel as if you are a representative of Poland?

[Oleksy] I do not want to continue this public discussion. It went in a wrong direction. Let it get a different dimension as soon as possible. I will always feel like a representative of Poland, even on a private visit abroad, and I am not talking about Moscow now. If I go to Moscow, I will go there officially and I will represent the Polish Government, to say the least.

[Skowronski
You said "if."

[Oleksy] Yes, because this is the decision for the moment.

[Skowronski] What are alternative solutions?

[Oleksy] I think there is no alternative. The resoluteness of the president's statement does not alter my right to represent the Polish Government abroad. The invitation comes from the Russian prime minister, and no one has the right to seek to influence the prime minister of the Polish Government about accepting this invitation because there were no proper consultations on this issue.

[Skowronski] When did the conflict between the government and the president begin?

[Oleksy] I do not treat it like that.

[Skowronski] I am talking about an interview for the Catholic Information Agency in which the president talked sharply about people of the Left, including you.

[Oleksy] This is simply regrettable, but it is not the only unpleasantness I have encountered so far. This is a statement by the president of this country about people, about me as a man. It is all the more regrettable. Such a statement does not fit my image of political habits. Even if someone were to offend me deeply, I would never use such words publicly, especially because we both play a certain role in the authorities in Poland.

[Skowronski] Are your talks with the president getting more and more difficult?

[Oleksy] I could say that there are no talks at all. This is also unnatural. I am of the opinion that contacts between the president and the prime minister should be frequent, and I am ready for it. I respect the president's role and his constitutional rights. I think we can cooperate well in Poland because there is plenty to do. But I am concerned if all of our contacts are to focus on claims and grievances. I am not doing this because the pace of work in Poland suffers from it. We are not playing our roles in the state to keep getting offended at one another, but to resolve problems. People will hold us to account for this sooner or later.

[Skowronski] Prime Minister, the presidential election is approaching fast. Will you take an active part?

[Oleksy] I am going to take part as an observer. I have already made this decision. On 13 May the left will appoint its candidate—I think it will be Aleksander Kwasniewski—nd then the government will deal exclusively with its own matters.

[Skowronski] The Council of Ministers will be meeting today. Are important issues going to be discussed?

[Oleksy] There are two very important issues on the agenda today—an assessment of foreign policy and a report prepared by the foreign minister, which will then

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be submitted to the Sejm for a foreign policy debate. The second is the reform of the social insurance system. This is a very important issue, and I am counting on the media to support the government in the implementation of this very complicated new system. This will be the third round of discussion on this system, and I think that after today's meeting it will be presented for public consultation.

[Skowronski] The government has adopted a timetable for its meetings until the end of this year. Reprivatization is going to be discussed soon. What decisions may be expected?

[Oleksy] Reprivatization is to be discussed next week. I am concerned that this draft has been so hastily criticized from all directions. One has to see the possibilities of the state. I want the reprivatization to move forward, to meet, at least in part, these claims that are historically legitimate. But we will definitely not be able to turn everything back after 50 years. I am counting on the understanding of all groups that what we are doing is the only possible thing to do and with great effort.

[Skowronski] There have been calls by important politicians in Washington demanding the return of Jewish property.

[Oleksy] This is not a new thing, but, for the first time, it has appeared with so much public political pressure. It is not good when U.S. congressmen want to exert pressure on Poland as regards ownership relations. Ownership relations, privatization, and reprivatization are the processes in which the return of the former Jewish-owned property has to be included. But as far as I am aware, the reasoning goes in a slightly different direction. We have to view it through the lens of clearly defined Polish capabilities.

[Skowronski] Are you tempted to go to Washington?

[Oleksy] I am tempted to go in any direction where something can be done in the interests of Poland.

[Skowronski] Prime Minister, than you very much.

Popularity of Kuron, Strzembosz, Kwasniewski

WS1804133995 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Apr 95 p 2

[Article by E.Cz.: "Politicians, Businessmen, and Freelancers on Candidate for President; Everyone Has His Own Candidate"]

[FBIS Translated Text] More than three in four freelancers, slightly fewer politicians, and only slightly more than 50 percent of businessmen can see among the possible candidates for president a person they are prepared to vote for. Politicians most often choose Jacek Kuron, businessmen Aleksander Kwasniewski, and freelancers Adam Strzembosz.

These are the results of another survey, which is part of an elite poll. This poll was conducted in April by the Public Opinion Research Center on the order of RZECZPOSPOLITA. In the survey, which was conducted over the phone, 150 representatives of opinion- and decision-making circles were asked their views. Politicians were selected proportionately to the results of the parliamentary elections in 1993; this group was supplemented by people in the president's entourage. The businessmen were representatives of the largest companies and banks, and the freelancers were journalists, lawyers, scientists, employees of the culture sector and the health service. All of them constituted three 50-person groups.

Our first question concerned the ratification of the Vatican Concordat—whether this agreement should be renegotiated or ratified.

This time we asked the following question: Is there a person you are ready to vote for among those who are said to run in the presidential elections? Nearly three in four persons gave a positive response. The most determined are the freelancers, while, among businessmen, most have not made up their minds yet. The respondents were presented with eight names: Aleksander Kwasniewski, Jacek Kuron, Janusz Korwin-Mikke, Andrzej Olechowski, Waldemar Pawlak, Adam Strzembosz, Lech Walesa, and Tadesz Zielinski—politicians who have already submitted their candidacies and the names of potential candidates. The greatest number of people (one-fourth) chose Jacek Kuron, the candidate of the Freedom Union, and only slightly fewer pointed to Professor Adam Strzembosz, candidate of the right wing.

In the group of politicians, the candidate who turned out to be most popular was Jacek Kuron. More than 50 percent of these people term their views mainly as centrist, but one in three says he is leftist or even rightist. Fewer than one in four politicians with exclusively leftist views would vote for Aleksander Kwasniewski, who will most probably run for the presidency as a candidate of the Democratic Left Alliance. Just as many politicians chose Adam Strzembosz, a candidate of rightist groupings. Lech Walesa was chosen by 16 percent of politicians with rightist and centrist views.

Almost half of the businessmen can see Aleksander Kwasniewski as the right candidate for the presidency. One in four would not hesitate to vote for Jacek Kuron, and 15 percent would endorse Professor Tadeusz Zielinski [civil rights spokesman], who is now supported by the Union of Labor. None of the businessmen would vote for Lech Walesa or the liberal Janusz Korwin-Mikke.

Freelancers are prepared to vote first of all for Adam Strzembosz (41 percent) and Jacek Kuron (nearly one-third). Incumbent President Lech Walesa and Tadeusz Zielinski received 8 percent of the votes each. The candidates who would receive the least votes from the elites in the elections are Jan Olszewski and Waldemar Pawlak (1 percent each), as well as Andrzej Olechowski and Janusz Korwin-Mikke (2 percent each).

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Is there a person you are ready to vote for among those who are said to run in the presidential election?

	Percent
Average	
Yes	68
No	29
Hard to tell	3
Politicians	
Yes	72
No	28
Hard to tell	0
Businessmen	
Yes	55
No	39
Hard to tell	6
Freelancers	
Yes	78
No	18
Hard to tell	4

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Melescanu, Hungarian Official Discuss Treaty

AU1804120695 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 18 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In Bucharest today, Teodor Melescanu, state minister and Romania's minister of foreign affairs, received Matyas Eorsi, the head of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Hungarian parliament. Their talks focused on the Romanian-Hungarian basic political treaty, especially on the issues that are still in suspension. The two parties examined the stipulations of Council of Europe Recommendation No. 1201, as well as the efforts that should be made to overcome the current impasse in the negotiations.

Our correspondent Doina Saiciuc reports that next week a new round of Romanian-Hungarian negotiations will take place in Budapest to finalize the text of the Romanian-Hungarian basic political treaty.

During today's talks at the headquarters of the Romanian foreign ministry, they also approached the very important role of the two countries' parliaments in boosting the negotiations, as well as speeding up the treaty's signing and ratification, which is in the interests and Euro-Atlantic integration efforts of both parties.

Following the talks, Eorsi said he was glad to see that, as far as principles are concerned, quote, the two positions are not far away from each other. Regarding the autonomy process, we fully agree that this cannot mean territorial autonomy on ethnic criteria, unquote, said the Hungarian guest.

Melescanu Sees EU Backing for Reform Process

AU1904090695 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 13 Apr 95 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Teodor Melescanu, minister of foreign affairs, by "D.T."; place and date not given: "Equal Chances in the EU"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [D.T.] Mr. Minister, you participated in two important meetings in Luxembourg: the first session of the Romania-EU Association Council and the "15 + 6" meeting of the heads of diplomacy from the EU and associated countries. What did you bring back in the diplomatic bag? What is our image like over there?

[Melescanu] Indeed, those were two very important meetings, both as regards the subjects discussed and the context in which the sessions were held. Since they took place shortly after the adoption of the Essen strategy, it is obvious that one of the main subjects discussed at both meetings dealt with the need to take the necessary measures to implement the aforementioned strategy, which is aimed at preparing the associated countries for joining the EU. While the "15 + 6" meeting focused on rather general aspects, the Romania-EU Association Council laid emphasis, as was only natural, on the bilateral component, on the drafting of a national strategy for preparing Romania's adherence to the EU—and, implicitly, on ways and means for the EU to support us in implementing the goals of this strategy. I would like to point out the particular readiness displayed by the EU in this respect and, on a broader scale, its readiness to assist our country's efforts along the process of reform. As a matter of fact, these efforts—particularly those that allowed our macroeconomic stabilization—were positively assessed by the EU and the participating countries.

Likewise, both meetings enabled an exchange of views on subjects of mutual interest, such as regional cooperation among the associated countries as an element of stimulating their effort to join the EU. One must note, here, the confirmation of the EU commitment to support this cooperation, including within such cooperation schemes as the Central European Free Trade Association—to which the EU associated countries, including Romania, should belong.

As regards Romania's image, I believe it quite significant that the EU categorically reiterated the principle of equal chances vis-a-vis the associated countries. This spirit clearly prevailed in all discussions. The trust expressed by the EU in Romania's capacity to continue its integration efforts, as well as the EU commitment to give Romania steady support—in legislative harmonization, infrastructure development (as part of the future trans-European networks), and so forth—are elements that make us look forward with optimism to the development of our ties with the EU, within this process of integration, including the possibility of presenting a formal request for Romania's adherence to the EU in the near future.

[D.T.] Did you sense a change in the EU attitude toward our country after the failure to conclude a treaty with Hungary? In this connection, you had a meeting with Laszlo Kovacs [Hungary's foreign minister]. What did you talk about?

[Melescanu] There has definitely been no change in the EU attitude toward us. In this respect, the joint communique issued at the end of the meeting of the Association Council is quite revealing. In this communique, the EU particularly appreciates Romania's participation in the Stability Pact and takes note with satisfaction of the Romanian Government's determination to finalize the negotiations with Budapest as soon as possible, in order to conclude the treaty with Hungary in the spirit of the joint declaration signed in Paris by the heads of the Romanian and Hungarian Governments. As a matter of fact, this problem was also raised during my meeting in Luxembourg with the Hungarian foreign minister. I was glad to note that my counterpart has also shown the same interest in speedily finalizing the treaty. In this respect, we agreed that the negotiations should be resumed at the level of experts in the coming period (in the last week of April).

[D.T.] We learned with satisfaction that in Luxembourg you also raised the problem of free circulation, and of

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facilitating the granting of visas to Romanians. Can we hope that our citizens will no longer be humiliated at the Western consulates when they apply for travel visas?

[Melescanu] I have raised this problem and insisted that its resolution would amount to a concrete reconfirmation of the EU commitment to promote the principle of equal chances for all associate countries, since the settlement of the issue of individual travel is obviously an expression of this principle. I noted with satisfaction the EU readiness to continue the efforts to find an appropriate solution to this problem.

Iliescu on Opposition Joining Cabinet

AU1804143295 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 14 Apr 95 p 1

[MEDIAFAX report: "President Iliescu Does Not Think the Opposition Could Join the Government"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In an interview granted on Wednesday [12 April] to the MEDIAFAX news agency, President Ion Iliescu said he does not think it possible that the opposition could join the government before the 1996 general elections. The president admitted, however, that the current political allies of the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania]—that is: the PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party], PRM [Greater Romania Party], and PSM [Socialist Party of Labor]—are not "comfortable," and that he would have preferred "a ruling coalition that thinks and acts more homogeneously." "Political life makes one adapt to whatever is given. One does not choose one's friends; they are, rather, given to one by society," said the president, referring to the current allies of the PDSR. However, he then harshly criticized the opposition for its denunciation of the government's policy, especially in the privatization of the large-scale companies. "The privatization bill seems quite simple to me, but its passing is still being hindered by the obstinate refusal of people who claim to be supporters of reform in Romania but who, to judge from their behavior, have turned out to be the opposite," said the president.

'Interest Coordination Council' Established

LD1904114895 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 18 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] An interest coordination council has been set up in Szeklerland. Our correspondent Tibor Bogdan reports.

[Bogdan] The Csik, Gyergyo, Haromszekmegye, and Udvarhelyszek regional organizations of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [HDUR; in Romanian, UDMR] has set up the Szeklerland Coordination Council [Szekelyfoldi Egyezteto Tanacs] in order to guarantee the special interest representation of the ethnic Hungarians in Szeklerland. The new body supports self-determination and the rightful need for autonomy of the Hungarian community in Romania. It considers personal autonomy and the creation of special-status self-governing autonomy suited to the historical and regional circumstances of the Hungarians in Transylvania, and regional autonomy, indispensable conditions for the preservation of ethnic self-identity. In its first statement, the body strongly criticizes the police agencies, which behave more and more as an occupying power in the Szeklerland counties.

Socialists Ready To Give UDMR More Funds

AU1804143495 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 14 Apr 95 p 1

[MEDIAFAX report: "Each Year Hungary Grants Assistance Worth 3.6 Billion Lei to the UDMR"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During the Wednesday [12 April] news conference in Cluj occasioned by the arrival there of the delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Party [PSU in Romanian; MSZP in Hungarian] delegation, Csaba Takacs, the executive chairman of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania], said that each inhabitant of Hungary contributes 20 forints per year to the assistance Hungary grants the UDMR and the ethnic Hungarians in Romania. If one multiplies that amount by 10 million, the current number of inhabitants of Hungary, one realizes that the assistance amounts to 200 million forints—that is, 3.6 billion lei. The UDMR leaders, however, are dissatisfied. They consider it very little and think it does not keep pace with the inflation in Romania. Sandor Csintalan, the leader of the PSU delegation reassured them that his party is determined to find "new financial resources" among the Hungarian civil society to increase the assistance granted to the UDMR.

Cluj Said 'Targeted' by International Mafia Group

AU1804134695 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 14 Apr 95 p 16

[Article by Bogdan Eduard and Sandu Muresan: "The Foundations of the Largest Mafia-Type Organization in Romania Are Being Laid in Cluj"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, during a news conference organized at the Cluj IJP [County Police Inspectorate], Colonel Virgil Ardeleanu, the commander of the Cluj Municipality Police, made certain incendiary statements. He declared that there is information available according to which a very strong and dangerous international Mafia-type organization has targeted Cluj city. The organization deals in killings on order and the smuggling of prostitutes and drugs.

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Silajdzic Says West Accepts 'Ethnic Fascism'

AU1904093695 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 19 Apr 95 p 7

[Interview with Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Sabine Riedel in Sarajevo; date not given: "The Regime in Serbia Wants the Status Quo"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Riedel] In Bosnia, the spring offensive has started. Representatives of the government troops express the hope that this offensive might decide the war by the end of the year. Do you share this optimism?

[Silajdzic] I do believe that our Army is now better organized than at the beginning of the year. As regards the hope that the war might have been decided by the end of the year, I have my doubts.

[Riedel] "Better organized" means that there is now largely a military balance?

[Silajdzic] No, we are still far away from a balance. The weapons and ammunition that we receive or produce ourselves are few. They are not heavy weapons, our weapons only serve defense. Our enemy has artillery, heavy weapons, helicopters—and Belgrade, which supports them. Just recently, we have observed strong troop movements from Serbia to Bosnia. There is an imbalance, and it is this imbalance that continues the war. If we were able to achieve a balance, we would get closer to peace.

[Riedel] Thus, you are in favor of lifting the arms embargo against Bosnia?

[Silajdzic] I am not just in favor of it, I demand it. Any democratic state should take the question of life and death into its own hands. We are victims. And we are denied the right to defend ourselves.

[Riedel] How do you explain the resistance of the international community against lifting this embargo?

[Silajdzic] How? I will tell you. There is a concept for containment, which the international community has applied right from the beginning. The so-called conflict is supposed to be limited to Bosnia. There are three instruments to implement this concept: the status quo; the UN mandate, which is supposed to preserve peace but, in fact, preserves the status quo; and the arms embargo.

[Riedel] In other words, the international community fears that the Bosnian conflict might turn into an international conflict?

[Silajdzic] They fear that the conflict might reach a point where they would really have to do something. The problem is that this international concept of containment is virtually identical to Belgrade's policy. The regime in Belgrade wants the status quo. But Belgrade takes it one step further. It wants to legalize this status quo.

[Riedel] So, the international community is an indirect ally of Belgrade?

[Silajdzic] Of course. Why not a direct ally? It is so obvious. If you impose an arms embargo against the victims, you naturally help the aggressor. This has been going on for three years now. And it has turned out that he arms embargo has no other purpose but to kill people. Let us say that, at the beginning, this embargo might have been a technical accident. But if, after three years, the so-called democratic states still insist on this embargo, this is a deliberate decision to sacrifice the people in Bosnia for the so-called world peace.

[Riedel] What do you think about the peace plan of the international Contact Group?

[Silajdzic] The plan fits this policy exactly. It gives these states the possibility to talk, to debate, to go to Pale or to Belgrade, to keep UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] here, and, furthermore, to hope for better times.

[Riedel] Would you say that international politics has failed in Bosnia?

[Silajdzic] It is so obvious. What do we have here? Do we have peace? Of course it has failed. The problem is now that it is turning into deliberate failure.

[Riedel] Do you see a solution?

[Silajdzic] I do not. I believe that, in the end, there will be a political solution. I am afraid that the Contact Group will try to convince even the last Bosniak of their plan. I do not believe that one can force the Serbs to negotiate just by military means. There are other means. For instance, the United Nations could finally do its job. There are 50 Security Council resolutions. Why is not a single one implemented? One could also give the Bosnian Army weapons. And if a military balance was then established, there would no longer be any war.

[Riedel] Do you still believe in an undivided and multiethnic Bosnia?

[Silajdzic] Today this is very difficult to say. Of course, the idea still exists. But so many things have changed. And Bosnia will never again be what it used to be. In any case, much time will pass before the three ethnic groups can live together peacefully in one state again.

[Riedel] In particular, the politicians have repeatedly stressed the idea of an undivided Bosnia. Do you defend this idea or do you favor more nationalistic ideologies in Bosnia, too?

[Silajdzic] I have never been for the division of Bosnia. Unfortunately, the Contact Group's peace plan envisages precisely this division. They want a small Muslim, a small Serb, and a small Croat state here. They want this division, not we.

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[Riedel] Let us talk about you party, the SDA (Party of Democratic Action). Are there not also voices in the SDA that demand a Muslim state? This is something that West Europe notes with concern.

[Silajdzic] First, West Europe does not fear anything. If the countries feared such a state, they would have stopped this war long ago. This is hypocrisy. Second, if there are different opinions in the SDA, this only shows that this party is a democratic party. We have never wanted a division, and what is happening here now is pure fascism. This ethnic fascism does not seem to bother anyone in Europe. It is acceptable to West Europe. And it is so hypocritical to talk about the fear of Islamic fundamentalism if, on the other hand, one accepts this "genetic, biological" fascism.

[Riedel] Do you still see a realistic prospect for an undivided Bosnia?

[Silajdzic] Yes, this is why we do not give up. The sovereignty of a state and its territorial integrity are things one cannot negotiate on. Look at the Baltic states. They have waited for their freedom for a long time. We can wait even longer.

[Riedel] Do you believe that the Bosniak-Croat Federation works? Are both sides equally interested in this Federation?

[Silajdzic] No, many people are not honest regarding this issue, particularly on the Croat side. This is what your Mr. Koschnick [EU administrator of Mostar] has clearly realized. However, there are also voices on the Bosnian side that oppose this federation. After all, money and power are at stake, and why should they give this up?

[Riedel] How do you explain the Croats' lack of interest in this Federation?

[Silajdzic] Well, first of all, they have been nourished with the idea of a Greater Croatia. And, finally, this Federation came about only under great pressure, also from the German side. The Croats in Bosnia believe that this Federation is only a stage, that they still have a better option.

[Riedel] Are you afraid of a new alliance between the Serbs and Croats?

[Silajdzic] As a politician, I do not rule out this possibility. It is a fact that, at the moment, many goods, which are destined for us, are held back at the Croatian-Bosnian border. Why? The Croats know exactly the difficulties we are in, that we simply need everything. For instance, we urgently need fertilizers for the spring sowing. For weeks, this fertilizer has been held back at the border. The Croats are just waiting for the season to be over so that it will be too late for fertilization.

[Riedel] Do you think that the international community's offer to Belgrade to loosen the sanctions against the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] if Slobodan Milosevic exerts pressure on Serb leader Karadzic is the right method?

[Silajdzic] No. Lifting the sanctions would mean legalizing the situation as it is now. It would shows that it was not the regime in Belgrade that was wrong, but the international community. Now they correct their mistake and say: We apologize, Mr. Milosevic, we will lift the sanctions. We were wrong. Now continue and kill the rest of the Bosniaks.

Ganic: Pressure on Milosevic To Recognize Bosnia

BR1904101495 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 18 Apr 95 p 8

[Report on interview with Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic by Soren Ostergaard Sorensen in Sarajevo; no date given: "The Muslims Have Hopes of Milosevic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo—The Bosnian Government refuses to extend the cease-fire with Radovan Karadzic, but sees a hope that Serbian President Milosevic will recognize Bosnia's borders, Vice President Ejup Ganic told BERLINGSKE TIDENDE.

Even if the risk is more war and more victims, the Muslim-dominated Bosnian Government will not extend the cease-fire which is formally in force when it runs out on 1 May. So said the powerful Bosnian vice president, Ejup Ganic, in an interview with BERLINGSKE TIDENDE.

"If we allow an extension of the cease-fire, we are giving Radovan Karadzic a deed to the occupied areas. This would legitimize the occupation and give Karadzic's Serbs yet another excuse to refuse to discuss the peace plan that is on the table. We are not prepared to make any more concessions. The Contact Group's plan is the furthest we can go in the way of a compromise, and I hope that no one believes that we will go further," said Ejup Ganic, who is viewed as the most uncompromising hawk in the Bosnian leadership when it comes to dealings with the Serbs.

In recent weeks the international Contact Group—consisting of top diplomats from the United States, Russia, Germany, Britain, and France—together with UN peace mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg has tried in rounds of shuttle diplomacy to put some movement into the peace process before 1 May when the cease-fire, established by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter around Christmas, runs out. But so far the diplomats have not had luck on their side and with fierce daily fighting on a number of the fronts in the war the cease-fire has long since become a piece of paper which only the most formalistic diplomats can take seriously.

Ejup Ganic does not want Nobel Prize candidate Jimmy Carter back in Bosnia, because the former president is viewed in Sarajevo as a pro-Serbian figure who in his

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Christmas mission to the Bosnian Serb headquarters in Pale tried to whitewash Karadzic and give time to the Serbs to consolidate their military positions.

The vice president also accuses the Contact Group of "not making use of the cease-fire to achieve something sensible."

"Only now have people suddenly become busy: It is just like the students who leave their preparations until the last minute before examination day," said Ganic, who does, however, feel encouraged by the fact that the Muslim-dominated government army has today been so strengthened that the Serbs have lost the initiative on the battlefield. "Perhaps we do run a risk in saying no to an extension of the cease-fire. But this is a risk we have to take, if we are not to lose our nation. We are no longer so weak... and we expect that our newly found strength could encourage Karadzic to seek a peaceful solution."

[Sorensen] But will your strength not simply lead to more war and more suffering in a war which is now into its fourth year?

"Three years is a long time in a person's life. But in the thousand-year history of Bosnia it amounts to only a second in the life of the nation. Even after only two months of war in which Karadzic had proved that he would use all methods, I predicted that this war would last a long time, if the international community was unwilling to use shock therapy. This shock therapy was not used, and that is why the war has lasted so long.... We have still not abandoned hope of having the arms embargo lifted. We do not know what will happen in the future; as an independent nation we have right to defend ourselves. This right has been taken from us.... We will no doubt beat Karadzic. We will beat him slowly and surely on points. Our country will survive, and Karadzic will be punished in the end. Politically, this war has been brought to an end in the peace plan. We will now have to wait and see what will happen militarily," said Ejup Ganic, who regrets the fact that a growing number of UN soldiers—including the soldiers in the Nordic battalion in Tuzla—are coming into the firing line during the fighting.

"We want UN soldiers here; but they must also carry out the missions they have been given.... Often they are simply in the way and are unable to protect themselves. If they are unable to manage this, they might just as well leave. In the middle of an armed conflict we cannot begin defending the United Nations when they have a couple of soldiers wounded. They must look after themselves. As things have been up to now, the UN force has been what Karadzic has wanted. He wants the United Nations to remain in Bosnia; but he wants a United Nations that is ineffective and incompetent," said Ejup Ganic, who believes that the time is ripe for international pressure on Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to recognize Bosnia's international borders.

"Milosevic only needs to take the purely academic step of recognizing our country and he will achieve very great gains. Serbia has been weakened by the international sanctions. All those who are highly educated, all the computer experts, and those Serbs with a modern, international orientation no longer see a future in a country which runs the risk of becoming an underdeveloped peasant nation.... Milosevic is the architect behind this conflict. The only factor that was not included in his calculations was our ability to mobilize and fight.

"He had the Yugoslav Army on standby in almost every single town and village, and he thought that these Bosnians without arms could be defeated at the drop of a hat. He underestimated our determination to defend and organize ourselves. Now they can no longer smash us. We have become too strong for them, and Milosevic knows that he cannot put an end to Bosnia. A political solution would be less complicated if he recognizes the international borders. For that would put pressure on Karadzic to accept the peace plan and consequently abandon the ambition to become a part of a Greater Serbia," said the Bosnian vice president, who has been encouraged by Milosevic's recent direct negotiations with the Sarajevo government's envoy, Ambassador Muhammed Filipovic.

In Ganic's view this is the most optimistic sign of peace, because the Serbian leader has shown a desire to bypass Pale and negotiate peace directly with Sarajevo.

Karadzic Announces Restructuring of RS Government

AU1904080395 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Apr 95

[Report by Zorica Lolic with recorded statements by Srpska republic President Radovan Karadzic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Srpska republic [RS] President Radovan Karadzic participated in the meeting of the Municipal Assembly of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] in Banja Luka today. The meeting focused on the current political situation. Zorica Lolic has a report.

[Lolic] We have already begun introducing order into the internal organization of the state, President Karadzic said at the beginning of his speech and pointed out that our domestic scene is very much the product of this war, which has been going on for a long time, by sanctions imposed by the international community and the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], as well as by problems resulting from the weaknesses of state administration, i.e. from the budget. Furthermore, there are weaknesses in the functioning of the executive branch, President Karadzic continued and announced that the state will not be run on the basis of general consensus, i.e. that the SDS will emerge as the leader. How, then, is one to introduce order into the state?

[Karadzic] We have already begun introducing order into the internal organization and it will affect the most sensitive and the strongest, most cumbersome bodies of

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the state, in the army and in the police, in the government. The prime minister demanded support and announced the restructuring of the government and we will allow that. The restructuring will probably be realized with much care and caution in two stages, affecting two or three ministries first and then another two or three. There will be personnel changes, restructuring, and new people in some state institutions, especially in the Interior Ministry, and that will be a process that will lead to revolutionary changes in a month.

[Lolic] Our president explained his view by saying that the SDS has an obligation to introduce order in the country, but that it will first introduce order in the party. In a democracy we can have a rift in the party's representative bodies, but we cannot have a rift in the executive branch, continued our president emphasizing the fact that, as he said, those who take part in a race cannot give up half way but must reach the finish line because:

[Karadzic] It turned out that the pace before the finish line is terribly exhausting and that we could easily stumble if we are not responsible. You saw what happened on the Vlasic front: One lousy battalion causes the fall of an area; two lousy battalions and we can have the enemy knocking on the doors of Banja Luka.

[Lolic] Since this is a party meeting, let me emphasize that the party, which was very strong before the war, cannot be weaker today, for its doors are opened for the most sensible Serb intellectuals and this nation needs their creative minds. And now about rumors, continued Karadzic, they are very dangerous, especially those about the upcoming mobilization of students. Such rumors aim to rid our territory...

[Karadzic] ...to send good students abroad, to substitute Serbia's loss of fine students by our children, our good students whom this country will need. Consequently, we must spike the rumors about the mobilization of students by means of direct contact with those people and convincing them that those rumors must be dispelled.

[Lolic] In spite of everything, President Karadzic commended party activities as opposed to the executive branch, which still needs some polishing. We must not allow any semblance of weakness, for we have enormous strength and the support of our people for reaching our ultimate goals as well as for creating a state and a free society, concluded RS President Karadzic today in Banja Luka.

Koljevic Denies Rift

LD1804164295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1539 GMT 18 Apr 95

[Item received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 18 Apr (SRNA)—Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Bosnian Srpska republic, said today that there was no conflict between the political and military authorities of the Srpska republic at the session of the People's Assembly as reported by certain international agencies, particularly REUTERS.

"It was an exchange of opinions on the authority of certain institutions," Koljevic told reporters in Banja Luka.

Commenting on foreign policy, the vice president stressed that "contacts are in progress with the international community so that the Serb Republic might return to the negotiating table, provided that a lasting peace is established and that our negotiating team does not give up the independence of the Serb Republic."

"After the visit of former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, and the signing of the agreement on a four-month cessation of hostilities, the expected results did not come about," Koljevic assessed, stressing that those most to blame for obstructing this agreement were the Muslim authorities.

Assessing the intiative of French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe to convene a tripartite meeting between Milosevic, Tudjman, and Izetbegovic as unacceptable to the Serb side, Koljevic said that it "would undermine the status of the Serb Republic."

Also present at the news conference were Information Minister Miroslav Toholj; Lieutenant Colonel General Milan Gvero, assistant commander of Army Headquarters; and Slobodan Bijelic, chairman of the Information Council.

Koljevic: 'Possibility' of Resuming Negotiations

AU1904072595 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Apr 95

["Excerpts" from interview with Nikola Koljevic, Bosnian Serb vice president, carried by an unidentified "Serb Radio" program on 18 April; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Taking part in today's one hour program on Serb Radio, Srpska republic [RS] Vice President Nikola Koljevic also talked about contacts between the leaders of the RS and a number of international diplomats and announced a possibility of resuming peace negotiations, but on the basis of new, high-quality foundations.

[Koljevic] I can only say that we have achieved something that we could find acceptable, that our side could accept—to resume negotiations. But we do not know the extent of influence the cochairmen have on certain governments, i.e. Contact Group members that are presently having consultations with their governments, whether the Contact Group or some other body, the European Union for instance—after all this conflict is unfolding on this continent—and there is a paradox: We have a very strong presence of the U.S. factor, which is

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from another continent. On the other hand, it does not have a contingent of soldiers here. Consequently, it is a paradox that this is not happening in Mexico or Granada, for instance, where the United States is directly involved—and you saw how expedient the United States is when dealing with problems in its immediate neighborhood.

That is one thing. The second thing is that we have, even as we speak, in other domains as well, certain contacts that could offer models for negotiation that are far more acceptable than any we have had so far. I can only say—and I do not think this will be harmful to the ongoing diplomatic process—something to explain what our side has advocated fully and rationally: If the term possibility, or something that the international community keeps referring to as visbility—i.e., the ability of a state, of a state entity, to exist with regard to its infrastructure, to the homogenous quality of its territory, to communications, resources—is a universal principle of justice, i.e. a relative human justice, then we could also draw some principles from that instead of starting with maps.

RS Minister on Unification Moves With RSK

LD1804200095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1539 GMT 18 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 18 Apr (SRNA)—Miroslav Toholj, Srpska republic minister of information, said today that the setting up of joint teams tasked with drawing up a plan for the unification of the Srpska republic and the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] means a swicth from talking to action, and to the practical creation of one state.

At a meeting in Banja Luka today with journalists of Banja Luka-based public media, Minister Toholj stressed that after setting up a military alliance the Srpska republic and the RSK leaderships have the obligation to begin the gradual unification of institutions.

Speaking about the role that media play in defense of the Srpska republic and in the creation of the state, Toholj said that the effectiveness of information media primarily lay in their good cooperation.

The Srpska republic minister of information also spoke about UN Security Council Resolution 981 and concluded that by adopting it the United Nations prejudiced a political solution between the RSK and Croatia thus rendering the Vance Plan completely invalid.

Minister Muratovic on Killing of French Soldiers

LD1804221995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 18 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The situation in Sarajevo, the protection of Sarajevo airport, the killing of the French soldiers, and the behavior of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] are questions to which Minister [for Relations with the UN] Hasan Muratovic gives answers in his conversation with Bosnia-Herzegovina television journalist Duska Jurisic. The first question was: Should we be negotiating with the aggressor about the use of the airport, despite the fact that an agreement on this has been reached with UNPROFOR.

[Begin recording] [Muratovic] We are absolutely against any negotiations. There is an agreement on the airport which is very precise. There are UN resolutions on this, and we are requesting that UNPROFOR adhere to these resolutions.

[Jurisic] Has the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina received an official UNPROFOR report on the murder of the two French soldiers?

[Muratovic] There is a report on the first murder, which happened in Dobrinja [western Sarajevo]. We have not received it, but it is known to us. This report says that UNPROFOR was unable to determine who commmitted the murders. As regards the other killing which took place in Marindvor [central Sarajevo], UNPROFOR has still not issued a report, so there is no report on the second murder. However, it is very clear to us who committed these murders. It is clear to every lay person, and this is proven by the TV pictures. We do not have any reason to shoot at people who are setting up a barrier to protect our people.

It is well known that the French have exchanged fire from this place with the chetniks on many occasions. There is likewise no confirmation that any French diplomats or officials have made any statements about who committed the murders. I sent a written request today asking that this speculation stop and that UNPROFOR submit a written report on both murders as soon as possible.

[Jurisic] Does the newly arisen situation at Sarajevo airport have anything to do with the murder of the French soldiers?

[Muratovic] Yes, there may be a link. Above all, I am convinced that the French have helped the Serbs by not making public who commmitted the murders, while in return the Serbs opened the airport for UNPROFOR, which is what they have done. UNPROFOR is open, excuse me.... [Pauses] The airport is open only for UNPROFOR. However, we cannot allow this. The airport was not opened in order to supply UNPROFOR and transport troops but primarily for the purpose of supplying humanitarian aid to the population.

Apart from this the airport has a big role in the peace process. In other words it is used by diplomats and our official delegations which are taking part in the peace process. The Serbs obviously intend to prevent the arrival and activity of diplomats and those who are engaged in the peace process, while they themselves cannot use the airport because they do not have anywhere to go because no one wants to receive criminals. [end recording]

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Akashi: Possible Pullout

AU1804171995 Paris AFP in English 1647 GMT 18 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, April 18 (AFP)—The UN special envoy to the former Yugoslavia warned Tuesday [18 April] of a possible UN pullout from Bosnia if attacks on peacekeepers continue.

Referring to the weekend killing of two French UN troops in Sarajevo by snipers, envoy Yasushi Akashi said, "If such incidents continue, I think contributing countries will have to review whether they should continue their participation in UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]."

Akashi spoke after talks near the southern port city of Split with General Rupert Smith, commander of UN troops in Bosnia. A UN spokesman said the talks were in preparation for discussions Thursday in Sarajevo and Pale, the stronghold of the separatist Bosnian Serbs, between Akashi and Bosnian government and Serb leaders respectively. Akashi said he wanted to discuss how a much-violated ceasefire due to expire at the end of the month can be extended.

Croatian Gen Bobetko Views Joint Command

AU1904084895 Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE (European edition) in Serbo-Croatian 13-20 Apr 95 p 9

[Interview with General Janko Bobetko, Croatian Army commander in chief, by Josip Vricko and Darjan Zadravec; place and date not given: "Croats and Bosniaks on the Slippery Slope"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The commander in chief of the Croatian Army, General Janko Bobetko, visited Bosnia-Herzegovina toward the end of last month and met with Gen. Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff of the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and with Major Gen. Tihomil Blaskovic, HVO [Croatian Defense Council] commander. After the meeting, we asked Gen. Bobetko to give us an interview and comment on the cause and the result of the meeting.

[Bobetko] I paid a return visit to Bosnia-Herzegovina and the General Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army after we had met here, in Zagreb, with the goal of establishing closer cooperation. The purpose of our meetings is to prevent the reappearance of internal animosity and clashes, which the other said, the Serb side, would love to see, and which is the main goal of their strategy: to fight one and then the other. Anyway, the recent events caused great harm to both nations and enabled the occupier to recuperate and get its second wind. Furthermore, the visit was a contribution to the efforts to restore mutual trust through negotiations and agreements. War and conflicts have left permanent scars on both sides and it will take a long time before we can get back to where we were before.

After all, in an attempt to hold on to the areas it controls, the aggressor could embark upon new conquests. Such plans can be foiled by means of a joint, rational, and realistic agreement and support. We must see to it that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats and the Croats in general, as well as the Bosniaks in these parts, have physical, material, and human potentials that guarantee that they will never again be defenseless, without weapons, and attacked by the armed force that has done what it has done in the past four years. And we know what it has done. Who is to blame for that? The imperial [as published] headquarters obviously drafted those plans a long time ago, and all of us were more or less naive, so to speak, we did not even dream of such a genocide being possible at the end of 20th and on the brink of 21st century. Still, it happened and it is still happening. The war claims more and more victims, towns are destroyed, a legal barbarism connived at by Europe is at work. Consequently, the aggressor's conclusion is that it will most probably get to keep everything it conquers. We should view my visit to Gen. Rasim Delic or, better yet, his command, in that light. The visit is a part of the effort to do our duty, to set the scene for a kind of self-defense, for this is not over yet.

The Bosniaks are aware of their problems, as well as of the danger that Serbia—I am now talking about Serbia, for Krajina is no longer capable of changing the course of events—if it could and if the international community should continue to be so inert or too tolerant, will use the opportunity and hold on to its conquest. That is what they are planning.

[OSLOBODJENJE] It seems that the relations between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia are much better regarding military matters than "high policy." For instance, the Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatian media ascribed the latest success on the Vlasic front to the joint forces of the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. Could you comment on that?

[Bobetko] People who live together, who are faced with the same problems, and who are treated the same by the aggressor are far better at finding common ground. The politicians should finally come to their senses. I wonder what interests they are protecting and whose interests come first. Probably those of the people who elected them. It is even more dangerous if they stand in the way of organizing their defense, because they are forced to do that. [sentence as published] I do not find that strange, it has been known to happen in history, but I think it is amazing that it has been going on for so long, that selfish interests prevent some people from seeing farther than their noses. They do see, but it also takes some honesty, tolerance, consideration, and concessions to preserve an integral whole. If they persist in finding a culprit, on determining who did what to whom, then they will reverse the process. Therefore, I consider it very fortunate that the two nations live together in Travnik and in the valley of the Lasva River. A man must keep his garden neat, he must tend to his sheep, he must survive

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somehow. Of course, soldiers from those areas who have houses there must behave correctly and see beyond their noses. I am, therefore, surprised to see that some people still do not. It is even more dangerous if they do see it while their actions are only making things worse, and while the chance of resistance is getting slimmer and slimmer. Unfortunately, we are living in such times. You see how much effort and sacrifice it takes to overcome that.

[OSLOBODJENJE] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is the youngest army in this region. What do you think about its officers and the Army in general?

[Bobetko] Eighty percent of their soldiers served in the former Yugoslav People's Army [JNA]. I know that much. Almost all commanders of corps and major units were educated by the JNA. I do not know whether some officers were educated in your schools. People who fought in the patriotic war in Croatia are completing their education now. About 80 percent of Croatian Army officers fought in the patriotic war, which is not a small number. Most of them received a professional education and are trained all the time. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, most officers are former JNA members. Most of them were educated at JNA schools, but the question is how they can apply their knowledge now and what is the level of their national motivation when they carry out their missions. There are enormous differences, I am sure of that. But I can understand that. There will be such difficulties until young educated people who have fought on the front lines become officers. In other words, those are two incomparable areas. However, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army cannot reject anyone. If a man wants to defend his country, if he places himself at the disposal of his people, he fulfills the main requirements and possesses the most important elements of national awareness. But if he does not do his duty properly, if he does not act in the interest of the future of his nation, so to speak, if that is his disguise, which happens in some cases, then we can be certain about the result of his fighting.

[OSLOBODJENJE] However, even some generals made themselves available at the beginning of the war, but nobody would take them....

[Bobetko] I do not know about that. I know Gen. Sarac, he was my friend, we were together, even here in Zagreb. He was and still is useful. I really do not understand why they would not have him. I have not spoken to him, so I do not know his side of the story. But the fact that he was rejected remains.

[OSLOBODJENJE] Eleven generals of the former JNA still live in Sarajevo....

[Bobetko] I know. I know Gen. Vranic. I know many of them. However, it turned out that they were not available. I will not make any comments on that policy. I am not judging anyone, but a lot of things depend on a particular person. If you see that your people suffer, then you do not have to wait for an invitation. You must place yourself at the disposal of your people. And then your function will reflect your attitude toward the fighting and the war. But you must not set terms, you must not say "I will do that, if I am given this or that position." There is no place for vanity. To sum it all up, a nation in danger needs every man who wants to fight and who will sacrifice himself. Every single man.

[OSLOBODJENJE] Gen. Bobetko, what is your opinion of the military agreement signed in Zagreb, how advanced is its implementation? Rumor has it that you will be appointed commander of the Joint Headquarters.

[Bobetko] No, that is not how things go, it was misinterpreted. There is plenty of work for everyone there. As they say, there is no favoritism or outvoting. It is a matter of talks on an equal footing, of sharing experience, of internal cooperation, of whatever it takes to exert a positive influence on both nations. There is no need to resort to military hierarchy. Absolutely no need. I hold a certain function, they hold theirs, which does not mean that we cannot share our experience. Quite the contrary, we must do that, we must coordinate and apply approximately the same criterion regarding certain matters. There is absolutely no need for favoritism, it would make no sense. Both sides must find acceptable solutions, but they must also create their own resistance, rely on their own forces in order to preserve their interests. Our organization will not be modeled on the former army, i.e. we do not have to have somebody at the helm straight away. Every side has its own territory and perhaps for the better. We must, however, work on improving our contacts, meet more often, produce tangible results. Everything other than that would not be considered normal and would set the scene for political speculations. Why should we be under somebody else's command, when we can do it on our own. Why should anybody force himself on us, etc? Bosnia-Herzegovina is a sovereign republic. Croatia is also a sovereign country and has sovereign rights, it has its own system and command, its own elements of responsibility.

[OSLOBODJENJE] What are your opinions of the relationship between the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in the framework of Bosnia-Herzegovina and of the joint command?

[Bobetko] I admit that it is still in its infancy. It is in keeping with the Washington Agreement. It presupposes the forming of the Federation as well as the gradual forming of a joint army, but not blending and losing one's identity. Croatia used to be a part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, but the command was in Croatia. At that time, 80 percent of officers were Croats. The Croats served in towns in Croatia. Even Josip Broz [Tito] served in the army in Karlovac. Consequently, already at that time, there were certain principles of national sovereignty, and we had our place in the framework of the monarchy. Things should go forward today, not backward.

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[OSLOBODJENJE] Could you assess their joint strength in relation to the Serbs? More specifically in this situation, where we see a Bosnia-Herzegovina Army offensive at work.

[Bobetko] That would be guesswork, not analysis. One thing is certain, if that joint element is coordinated, then they are at an advantage, if not, then the third side is superior. Pure logic implies that only together can they protect the territory they hold and defend.

[OSLOBODJENJE] Does the arms embargo present a big problem for Bosnia-Herzegovina? President Alija Izetbegovic says that weapons are being delivered to Bosnia after all....

[Bobetko] I suppose he knows what he wants and how to go about getting it. The embargo is still in effect. However, you cannot deny their right to defend themselves. Unfortunately, the victim and the aggressor were tarnished by the same brush. It has been like that for years. That absurd situation is taking a heavy toll, it claims many lives, and it gives one side the right to kill, while denying the other side the right to defend itself. And this is happening before the eyes of the entire world. Some say it would spread the war, but practice shows that it is only costing us more lives of innocent civilians without containing the war.

[OSLOBODJENJE] Gen. Bobetko, could you comment briefly on the military and political situation in Croatia, in view of UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia] replacing UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and the abolishment of the UNPA [UN Protected Area] zones and the so-called pink zones? Is war more likely now, as many fear, or is peace in the offing?

[Bobetko] The war has not been stopped. That is a fact. It has intensified in some areas and is less intensive in other. The latest resolution obliges those who adopted it to take concrete steps about its implementation within three weeks. The decision in itself implies the control [kontrola] of state borders, the abolishment of the UNPA zones, and gradual reintegration. It cannot happen overnight. However, if those requirements are not fulfilled, then it becomes obvious that those were just formal decisions. That could have far-reaching consequences. In that case, there would be no other solution, just a war option. But then the responsibility would rest neither on the Croats nor on the Bosniaks. The war, in that case, would be a product of a lack of involvement by international factors. In that case, they would bear the brunt of the historical responsibility. In that case, we would not wait or behave in compliance with the norms of civilization.

What we would be left with would be the right to self-defense based on the fact that we would have no other choice. Is Europe going to allow itself to be blamed for genocide, is it going to trigger some events that will end up in an all-out war? Something like that happened at the start of World War II, when countries were conquered one after another and the war was not avoided, but exacerbated. It was given momentum in 1938, 1939, and 1940. Concessions to Hitler did not prevent the war, they started it.

[OSLOBODJENJE] Croatia is, therefore, ready for the war option?

[Bobetko] Whether it is ready or not is beside the point. Croatia must protect its sovereignty, and it is doing everything to defend it and keep it safe.

[Box, p 9]

Extremists

Before our interview with Gen. Bobetko, the Croatian media said that "the members of the Muslim Army, last Monday (3 April) removed the cross from a high-school chapel in Travnik. On that occasion, we learned indirectly, Gen. Bobetko sent a letter to Gen. Delic (the contents of which have not been revealed) asking him to provide details about the incident. If that really happened, said Gen. Bobetko, then it was a blatant violation of the Catholic nation, i.e. if that is true, it proves that extremists forces are not so weak after all. That undermines our mutual cooperation...."

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Martic Expresses 'Dissent' From UNCRO Name

AU1804162395 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Apr 95 p 1

[Article by Dj. Majstorovic: "Departure of Peace Forces Means Tragedy for This Territory"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin—Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], and Thorvald Stoltenberg, chairman of the international conference on former Yugoslavia, held talks behind closed doors for more than two hours yesterday afternoon. After the talks ended, they issued the following brief statements for journalists:

"As you know, this is a continuation of the consultations after which I will send a report to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, on the basis of which he will then send a report to the Security Council by 21 April. I hope that on the basis of Butrus-Ghali's report, the Security Council will decide for the UN forces to remain on this territory, as during these consultations I advocated moderation to both sides. The departure of the peace forces would mean a tragedy for this entire region," Thorvald Stoltenberg said after the talks with Martic.

The Krajina president said that they expressed to Stoltenberg their indignation that the RSK stands regarding Resolution 981 had not been considered. "We also told Thorvald Stoltenberg that many provisions of that resolution are unacceptable to the RSK. We also expressed our dissent from the name UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia], as it prejudges a political solution and we shall not allow peace forces to have these signs on their vehicles. That can only simply read UN or UNPF [UN Peace Force]. We are also not going to allow any control of borders between the RSK, the Srpska republic, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. As regards the control of the work of militia and court organs, if that is reciprocally applied on Croatia—which had not been the case so far—then it could be applied to our organs as well."

President Martic also reiterated the Krajina delegation's stand regarding the peaceful solution to problems with Croatia and in case peace forces turn into executors of Tudjman's wishes, Krajina will demand for them to leave these territories, RSK President Milan Martic said.

Apart from President Martic, the following people constituted the RSK delegation: Assembly Chairman Rajko Lezajic, Serb Army of Krajina commander General Milan Celeketic, Assembly Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Lazar Macura, and President's National Security Adviser Ilija Prijic.

RSK Official Views Ties to Belgrade, Zagreb

AU1804130195 Sofia 168 CHASA in Bulgarian 10-16 Apr 95 p 19

[Interview with Branko Filipovic, deputy foreign minister of the republic of Serbian Krajina, by Maya Khristova; place and date not given: "Croatia Does Not Have a Big Enough Army for War Against Krajina"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Khristova] Will Krajina expel the Blue Helmets, as you have announced that you do not accept their new mandate adopted by the UN Security Council on 31 March?

[Filipovic] Not at all. In the last two and a half years the UN troops' mandate has not been changed, but now the Croatian Government has tried to implement a very dishonest plan—to reduce the number of Blue Helmets in Krajina and transfer them to the old Bosnia-Croatia border established between them in 1945 when they were two Yugoslav Republics. Behind this move was Croatia's intention to force the UN troops to control this administrative border, which is out of the question. The government of the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] cannot agree to this, because if the Blue Helmets begin to control this border it would predetermine the political solution of the crisis. There would be a de facto, and indirectly, a de jure recognition of the Croatian claims vis-a-vis the territory of the RSK, something to which neither our government nor our people would agree.

[Khristova] Does your objection to the presence of Blue Helmets along the border with Bosnia mean that you are preparing a confederation with the Bosnia Serbs?

[Filipovic] A confederation or federation is always possible. However, we would not like to create an explosive situation along the border between the RSK and the Srpska republic and thus complicate the situation. We are therefore analyzing the situation and taking one step at a time.

[Khristova] Would Krajina agree to remain in Croatia as an autonomous region?

[Filipovic] This is absolutely out of the question. Neither the government nor the people would agree to such a step, simply because in World War II the Croatian-Muslim coalition exterminated 1,200,000 Serbian civilians in Krajina and the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia. In addition, the Serbian population of former Croatia has never been a minority, but rather an ethnic group with rights equal to those of the Croat population.

[Khristova] What states have recognized the RSK independence?

[Filipovic] So far no state has recognized RSK as an independent state. However, this does not mean that we have not been recognized in practice. The RSK Ministry of Foreign Affairs has daily contact with almost all embassies in Belgrade (where our Foreign Ministry also has an office). Most of them demonstrate an exceptional interest in Krajina and indirectly accept its existence.

We and the Srpska republic mutually recognized each other as independent states on the very first day of our existence. We have not exchanged diplomatic representatives and we do not have embassies, but we are indeed

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talking about the same people. We think that we are divided only because of the existing circumstances, and that is a provisional situation.

[Khristova] What does your government intend to do to obtain recognition of the RSK as an independent state?

[Filipovic] We will adhere to the policy we have conducted until now. In 1991 the EU and the United Nations announced that every state that is not recognized but controls its territory and could exist as an independent state could be recognized as such by the United Nations. Thus, the international community has no choice but to recognize Krajina.

[Khristova] Would your state survive economically until then?

[Filipovic] We have already existed for four years, and this includes the military activities we are conducting. Our economy is functioning, although it encounters difficulties. Fuel is the main problem, but we have an agreement with Croatia and the United Nations on receiving the amount we need. According to UN Resolution No. 820, Krajina is banned from exporting or importing goods, which is a unique case in the UN history. Never before have UN troops been stationed in a state that is divided, while sanctions are being applied against only one of its parts. Nevertheless, Krajina is a very beautiful and rich region and we are capable of functioning.

[Khristova] How are relations between Knin and Pale?

[Filipovic] Excellent. Two years ago an agreement was reached between the governments of the Srpska republic and RSK to act together in effecting international contacts.

I must stress that neither the Serbs in Krajina nor those in the Srpska republic have any ambitions to create the so-called Greater Serbia. It cannot be bigger or smaller than what it is now. However, we want to bring about the unification of all the Serbs, in the same way as Germany was unified in 1989.

[Khristova] Do Krajina President Milan Martic and Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic understand each other?

[Filipovic] Yes. They have exceptionally friendly and correct relations.

[Khristova] And what relations do you have with Belgrade?

[Filipovic] The Belgrade issue is, how should I put it, very delicate. I cannot speak on behalf of Mr. Karadzic or the Srpska republic.

[Khristova] I meant relations between Knin and Belgrade.

[Filipovic] Oh, those relations are excellent.

[Khristova] What intentions does Belgrade have vis-a-vis the RSK?

[Filipovic] I cannot talk on behalf of President Milosevic. However, he made it very clear that Serbia has no aspirations toward any neighboring state. Simultaneously, he demonstrated that the present conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina could be resolved only by the people who live there. A solution could be achieved only if the principles of equality and mutual respect are applied.

[Khristova] Is a war between Krajina and Croatia possible?

[Filipovic] Croatia's border with Serbia and Krajina is 1,600 km long, and with Krajina alone—1,200 km. The Croatian Army simply does not have the manpower to launch a massive military aggression against Krajina. They could carry out limited military attacks against us, and that is a permanent threat that we bear in mind. However, I personally do not think that the Croats would risk a war just now, simply because the international public would not accept such a move on the part of President General Tudjman. In addition, last year two agreements were signed between Knin and Zagreb—on a cease-fire and on economic cooperation. The Croatian economy's basic revenue has always come from tourism. It cannot function without the total cooperation of Krajina in the fields of communications, electricity and water supply, and agrarian products.

[Khristova] A lot is being printed in Krajina about fascist manifestations in Zagreb. Is this propaganda, or do you really accuse Croatia of fascism?

[Filipovic] Unfortunately, this is not propaganda. The extremists forces in Croatia have always been strong, and since 1990 they have demonstrated their presence in a very palpable way. General Tudjman's current government is not much different from the government of Ante Pavlic, the Croat Nazi leader of 1941. Tudjman's government not only restored the Croatian flag of World War II, but also introduced the currency that was used then, and what is most unpleasant and important—it carried out genocide against the Serb population. Some 14,000 Serbian civilians were exterminated in 1991 and the beginning of 1992, and buried in 87 common graves in Croatia, mainly in Slavonia, Lika Banja, Kordon, and Dalmatia. The graves were discovered by representatives of the Organization for the Defense of Human Rights, and reported to the United Nations.

[Khristova] And what was the reaction?

[Filipovic] The reaction was really very strange. Three years ago the UN Security Council created an experts' commission to monitor human rights violation in Croatia and Krajina. Immediately after receiving information about the common graves in the villages of Marino and Patracka Poljana the commission discontinued its activity because of lack of funds. Actually the

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real reason was very simple—they were searching for evidence of Serbian violations against the Croats, and discovered evidence of Croat violations against the Serbs, which that could make possible the accusation that Croatia is engaging in genocide.

HDZ: First Istrian Congress Complete 'Fiasco'

LD1804210495 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The first world congress of Istrians has experienced a complete organizational and programmatic fiasco. This was stated at a news conference in Porec today by Branko Mocibok, secretary of the Istrian county committee of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ]. Silvana Fable reports:

[Fable] The HDZ county committee blames the organizers for the fact that Croatian and Istrian anthems were not played at the congress; HDZ treasurer Klaudio Beakovic said it is regrettable that around 90 percent of the speeches were delivered in the Italian language. Beakovic said that the congress showed, however, that all Istrians do not think in the same way and that the Istrian Democratic Assembly is not the only representative of the Istrian people. It also showed that Istrian Slovenes and Istrian Italians know who they belong to. Why are the Istrian Croats expected not to be Croats, but to be Istrians, Beakovic said. Branko Mocibok stressed that by failing to attend the congress, Istrian Slovenes proved they respect their state and their government.

Even though the adopted declaration on Istria which was read out by Istrian County Prefect Luciano Delbianco—for which he will be called to account—is an attempt to sell Istria off to Italian neofascists, which only serves the interests of the Greater Serbian project, we would like to tell the Istrians, Marino Golob, chairman of the HDZ county committee, said, that nobody will ever separate Istrians from Croatia. A handful of leaders of the Istrian Democratic Assembly stand behind the declaration and the congress which they are trying to use to destabilize Istria, but this will not happen, Marino Golob said with reference to the first world congress of Istrians.

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Serbia

Minister Pankov Reports on Aid to RS, RSK

LD1804200995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1620 GMT 18 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 18 Apr (TANJUG)—Radovan Pankov, minister for relations with Serbs outside Serbia, stated today in the Serbian Assembly that in the recent past, the government has continually supplied aid to the Srpska republic [RS] and to the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], and that the solidarity of the motherland has never been brought into question.

At the end of today's work in parliament, Pankov said aid has been sent to hospitals, university departments, schools, and businesses, and that it consisted of food, medicines, clothing, and shoes. Between 4 August 1994 and 16 April 1995 a total of 178,538 tonnes of various goods were sent to the RS and to the RSK, Pankov stressed. He said that in the last two months alone more than 7,000 tonnes of food was sent via his ministry to Serb areas.

Pankov also recalled the role of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] and its own, as well as the government's, persistent and consistent policies of peace and their advocacy of a just solution for the Serb people. The SPS, through its very great involvement and solidarity, has facilitated the survival of the Serb people in areas outside the present Yugoslavia, and has enabled them to fight for freedom, giving support to just, peaceful solutions, Pankov added.

Pankov stressed that the conditions have now been achieved for the war to end and for further negotiations, but that there are still those who want war and who advocate the war option and fresh casualties.

Kosovo

Serbian Army Forces 'Stationed' in Klina, Area

AU1904113695 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English No 597, 18 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Heavy Serbian Army Forces, backed up by high-caliber armament, cannons, tanks and armored vehicles have been stationed over a week now in Kline [Klina] and the surrounding villages. Sources in Kline say that the Serbian Army authorities have not issued an official announcement as to the reason of the heavy build-up in the region.

The LDK [Democratic League of Kosovo] Information Commission in Kline, in two reports issued yesterday and today, says that Serbian Army units have been positioned in at least half a dozen of villages of the Kline Municipality and in the town itself. Serb soldiers have been stationed in the premises of the medical center in the town, at the municipal assembly buildings, the schoolyard of the local elementary school in Kline, the cultural center building and on the top of some taller buildings in the town. Tanks and armored vehicles with high-caliber armament on board have been roaming the streets of Kline and the vicinity all day long.

The commission says Serbian Army units have been positioned and barricaded at the villages of Dollac, Dersnik, Pograxhe, Gjurxhevik, Perline, Jashanice, and Jallove. Serb soldiers have been reported intruding into the courtyards of Albanian families and in many cases intimidating family members. As reported, the pupils of the local elementary school at Jashanice village have been given one-week leave due to the increased presence of the Serbian Army in the vicinity. Sources from Kline say that in other villages, too, a great number of pupils fail to go to school fearing possible intimidation by the Serb soldiers and Serbian Army reservists who were also reported to have been involved in the maneuver.

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